STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA
3 0144 00225233 6

S
909
An79s
V.6

PISL-14
50M 5-66

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

STATE LIBRARY

HARRISBURG

In case of failure to return the books the borrower agrees to pay the original price of the same, or to replace them with other copies. The last borrower is held responsible for any mutilation.

Return this book on or before the last date stamped below.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
This project is made possible by grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

https://archive.org/details/vol5summaryofuni00anqu

A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY;

IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING

THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. ANQUETIL,

MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND CORRESPONDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES.

VOL. VI.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW,

By T. Davison, Lombard-Street, White-Friars.

1800.

S
909
An79s
v.6

CONTENTS

TO VOLUME VI.

	Page
COMMERCE,	1
Ancient,	2
Of the Genoeſe and Venetians,	4
Of the Portugueſe,	7
Albuquerque, Francis,	9
Mozambique,	19
Ormus,	20
Maſcate,	22
Malacca,	25
Sonda Iſles,	26
Moluccas,	28
New Guinea	28
China,	29
Japan,	31
Goa,	33
Commerce of the Spaniards,	35
The Philippines,	37
Marianne Iſles,	44
The Carolines	48
Commerce of the Engliſh,	50
Surat,	59
St. Helena,	61
Commerce of the Dutch,	63
——— of the Danes,	82
——— of the French,	85

34949

Page
Dumas, 96
Pondicherry, 97
Dupleix, 98
Commerce of Oſtend, 100
——— of Sweden, 101

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 105

Othman, the firſt ſultan, 106
Amurath I. 107
Bajazet, 109
Mahomet I. 114
Amurath II. 117
Mahomet II. 120
Bajazet II. 123
Selim, 131
Soliman, 136
Amurath III. 143
Mahomet III. 144
Achmet I. 144
Muſtapha, 146
Othman II. 146
Amurath IV. 147
Ibrahim, 150
Mahomet IV. 152
Soliman II. 156
Kiopruli, 159
Achmet II. 163
Muſtapha II. 165
Achmet III. 168
Patrona, 170
Mahomet V. 174

JEWS, 179

1ſt and 2d centuries, 179
3d and 4th centuries, 181
5th, 6th, and 7th, centuries, 182
8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, centuries, 184
12th century, 186
13th and 14th centuries, 188
15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, 190

Page

AFRICA, between the Red Sea, the Indian Sea, the African Ocean, and the Mediterranean, 192

Productions and habitations, - 193
Negroes, - - - - 194
Religion, - - - - 197
Marabous, - - - 198
Moors, Saracens, Arabs, - - 201
Journeys, - - - - 205
Animals, - - - 206
Chriſtians, - - - 208

EGYPT, - - - - 211

Government, - - - 212
Copts, - - - - 215
Caravan, - - - - 217
Moez, - - - - 218
Aziz, - - - - 220
Alakem, Taher, Moſtanſer, Billah, Moſtali, Amer, - - - 221
Hafedh D'Hafer Alfayez, - - 222
Al Aded, - - - - 223
Saladin, - - - - 224
Al Afdal, Al Aziz, Al Adel, Al Manſur, 225
Al Camel, - - - 226
Nojmoddin, - - - 227
Al Malek, - - - 227

AFRICAN ISLANDS, - - - 229

Madagaſcar, - - - 234
Scattered iſlands, - - - 243
Commora Iſles, - - - 243
Cape Verd Iſles, - - - 246
Canaries, - - - - 247
Madeira and the Azores, - - 253

ABYSSINIA, between Nubia, the Red Sea, Lower Ethiopia, and the wandering Ethiopians, - 255

David, emperor of Abyſſinia, - - 273
Claude, - - - - 274
Minas, - - - - 275
Malac, - - - - 276

Page

Zadenghel, - - - - 277
Sufnée, - - - - 279
Baſilides, - - - - 288

COASTS OF THE RED SEA, AND OF THE OCEAN, - - - 289

Melinda, - - - - 292
Monbaza, Quiloa - - - 294
Mozambique, - - - 296
Coaſt of Sofala, - - - 297
Monomotapa, - - - 299
Monœmugi, - - - 305
Caffraria, - - - - 397
Hottentots, - - - 308
Benguela, - - - - 317
Congo, - - - - 322
John Alphonſo, - - - 340
Don Pedro, Don Francis, Don Diego, Don Henry, Don Alvares I. Don Alvarez II. 341
Don Bernard, Don Alvares III. Don Pedro II. Don Garcias I. Don Ambroſio, Don Alvares IV. Don Alvares V. Don Alvares VI. 343
Don Garcias II. Don Antonio, Don Alvares VII. - - - 344
Angola, - - - - 348
Zunda Riangola, - - - 349
Angola Chilvagni I. Dambi Angola, - 349
Angola Chilvagni II. Ningha Angola, - 350
Bandi Angola - - - 350
Nighola-m-Bandi - - - 352
Zingha, - - - - - 354
Loango, - - - 363
Albinos, - - 365

GUINEA, - - - - 373

Benin, - - - 374
Juida - - - - 376
Fetiches - - - 380
Ardra, - - - - 388
European ſettlements - - 391
Particularities of the Gold Coaſt, - 396
Ivory Coaſt, - - - - 402

Page

Coaſt of Malaguetta, - - - 405
Sierra Leona, - - - 406
Monou, Quoja, Hondo, Mandingo, Fouli, Jalof, &c. - - - 407
Negroes of the interior parts of Africa, - 411
Gambia, Goree, Senegal, Zaara, Biledulgerid, 417

BARBARY, comprehending all the coaſt from Egypt to the Strait of Gibraltar, - 423

Hiſtory, - - - - 425

MOROCCO, between the Atlantic Ocean, Algiers, the Mediterranean, and Tafilet, - 428

Mahomet, - - - - 440
Abdallah, - - - - 445
Muleh Mahamed, Muley Moluch, and Muley Hamed I. Sidan, Muley Abdelmalech, Muley Elwali, Muley Hamet II. Muley Cherif, - - - - 447
Muley Archi, Muley Iſmael, - 449
Muley Debi, Abdelmalech, Abdallah, - - 455

ALGIERS, between Tunis, Zaara, and the Mediterranean, - - - - 457

TUNIS, between Algiers, Tripoli, and the Mediterranean, - - - - 473

TRIPOLI, between Tunis and Biledulgerid, Mount Atlas, Egypt, and the Mediterranean, 478

MALTA, - - - - 482

John de Villiers, - - - 491
Gozon, - - - - 493
Villiers de l'Ile Adam, - - 500

A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

COMMERCE.

THE hiſtory of commerce is the hiſtory of the avarice of individuals and of nations; but it is the hiſtory alſo of the proſperity and decline of empires. Commerce procures riches; riches create power; and power ſupplies a ſmall ſtate with the means of contending againſt a great one. Commerce changes the face of the earth. It covers the ſea with ſhips; unites nations ſeparated by immenſe diſtances; civilizes ſavage tribes; excites a ſpirit of induſtry, and overcomes idleneſs and ſloth. Equally active as ambition, it preſcribes to itſelf no bounds; and unleſs increaſed and extended, declines, and periſhes. Commerce has made the tour of the world by routes which it found open; by others which it opened for itſelf, and which it will perhaps one day reſume according to the changes

that may be produced on the globe by the convulsions of nature, the interests of princes, or other events favourable or unfavourable to its progress. It is of importance then to be acquainted with those routes; the places which have served as the magazines of commerce; the obstacles it experienced, and the circumstances by which it has been promoted. A knowledge of all these will be acquired from the history of the commerce of the Indies, both ancient and modern.

Ancient Commerce.

Commerce between neighbouring states has at all times existed. Mankind had wants, and they accommodated each other by exchanging their superfluities. The utility or beauty of certain articles made them objects of desire. Those who felt this desire went to search for them where they abounded, in order to acquire a profit which might enable them to procure a sufficiency, and even superfluity of necessaries. Hence arose commerce between distant nations. The commerce of Asia with Africa; of Africa with Europe; that of Carthage, Greece, and Phœnicia, and of all these countries with each other, have been traced out with as much accuracy as possible. Commerce by caravans was without doubt the oldest. It was carried on at a very early period by the Ishmaelites, who transported the spices of Arabia to Egypt; but it appears that the Arabs grew tired of giving up

to agents that profit which they could appropriate to themſelves. Their ſituation near the Perſian gulph ſuggeſted the idea, and afforded them the means of landing on the ſhores of India, and of carrying thither their productions in their own bottoms, and bringing back thoſe of India. The Greeks, among whom theſe articles were depoſited in order to paſs through their hands to other parts of Europe, were totally unacquainted with the route by which they received them.

Alexander, who had great views, eſtabliſhed ſeveral ſtaples of commerce, among which were the celebrated Alexandria. This city might be compared to one of thoſe large lakes, which receiving rivers from unknown ſources, diſcharges them in ſmall ſtreams to fertilize the adjacent countries. It appears that the commerce of India, and above all China, flowed through the North, Tartary, and Ruſſia, through which it ſtill endeavours to find a paſſage. It has been conjectured alſo, that the Chineſe, or rather the Japaneſe, made their way to Europe by having loſt themſelves in the great northern ocean; and this may have firſt ſuggeſted the idea of doubling the Cape of Good Hope. But theſe accidental paſſages, if they really took place, were not owing to commerce, but to ſtorms, and other fortuitous circumſtances at ſea.

The ancient commerce has marked out in a more diſtinct manner its places of reſt than its

route. Among the moſt celebrated ſtaples are reckoned Samarcand, Baſſorah, Aleppo, Bokara, Cabul, Candahar, and, above all, the magnificent Palmyra. Can it be ſuppoſed that a city ſurrounded by deſerts could acquire, without the aſſiſtance of commerce, a ſplendour which rendered it the aſtoniſhment of the univerſe? Commerce alſo, without doubt, left many traces of its paſſage among the parched ſands, interpoſed between trading cities; ſuch as edifices for the reception of ſtrangers; ciſterns to quench their thirſt; monuments of luxury, as columns and obeliſks, which are leſs likely to be the work of deſtructive conquerors, than of merchants intereſted in leaving marks to direct the traveller, and places of refreſhment for themſelves, in caſe they ſhould ever again paſs that way, or to be of benefit to thoſe who might think proper to follow them.

Commerce of the Genoeſe and Venetians.

Wherever there is conſumption, there commerce will end. While Rome was miſtreſs of the univerſe, the merchandize of India flowed thither through Egypt, one of her tributary provinces; but when Conſtantine had divided the empire of this queen of the world, commerce changed the direction of its courſe, and, without neglecting Egypt, which remained in the hands of the Greek emperors, ſupplied Conſtantinople with proviſions through Perſia. The grand magazine of this trade was Cufa, the beſt

port of the Crimea on the Black Sea. The cities of Italy, which had before found at Rome the ſpices, the rich ſtuffs, the precious wood, and the jewels, with which it ſupplied the reſt of Europe, went in ſearch of theſe Indian riches; ſome to the magazine on the Black Sea, as was the caſe with the Genoeſe, who eſtabliſhed themſelves at Cufa under the protection of the Greek emperors; and from being patronized merchants, became maſters. The Venetians purſued the way of Egypt and Alexandria, and received the valuable productions of India from the mahometans, who had already diffuſed their religion throughout the fertile countries on the Indus and the Ganges, as far as the ſhores of the Spice Iſlands, and had made it a foundation for their commerce. Several of the Italian cities, ſuch as Florence, Piſa, and many others, united their capitals to thoſe of the Venetians and Genoeſe, and ſhared in their profit, which became the ſource of their opulence. They tranſported theſe articles of merchandize to Germany, where their factors arrived to receive them at certain places, and fixed times; and this gave riſe to the great fairs, ſuch as that of Frankfort, the ſtaple of the Hanſe-towns, which afterwards ſupplied the whole north, and tranſmitted through Flanders their ſpices to France and to Spain.

This taſte for ſpices was far from being ſo general at firſt as it became at later periods,

Pliny expreſſes aſtoniſhment that they ſhould have been in ſo much requeſt: "For there are "things," ſays he, "which are agreeable to "the ſight, the ſmell, and the taſte; but pep-"per has nothing that can afford gratification "to any of theſe ſenſes." The ſame reflection might be made in regard to articles for which whole nations conceive a fondneſs, ſuch as tobacco. The averſion of Pliny was, however, not contagious. It, on the contrary, appears, that it was by the Roman governors that the uſe of ſpices, as well as a taſte for and deſire of obtaining the valuable merchandize of India, was diffuſed to the remoteſt parts of the empire; but in Europe, people were contented with the enjoyment of that luxury without any deſire of exploring the country which produced it. This deſire was excited by the cruſades; and favourable circumſtances, much to the benefit of commerce, procured a knowledge which was ſought for merely through political motives, and to enſure ſucceſs to theſe warlike expeditions.

It was natural that the cruſaders, who had taken up arms againſt the Mahometans, ſhould endeavour by ſome powerful diverſion to weaken the ſtrength of the enemy whom they attacked. Having heard of the exploits of Gengis Khan, the deſtroyer of the empire which the followers of Mahomet had eſtabliſhed in Perſia and Chaldea, the European princes diſpatched ambaſſa-

dors, who were charged to excite him to continue operations which were so advantageous to them. These ambassadors traversed Tartary, in order to reach the court of that great monarch; and by these means had an opportunity of procuring information respecting those parts of India which Gengis Khan had conquered. Travellers, emboldened by these attempts, continued their discoveries. Their relations excited a desire of being better acquainted with a country from which productions so useful, and works so agreeable, were procured; a country, respecting which so many wonderful tales were told, capable of gratifying curiosity, though they presented no hope of advantage; but an able monarch found means to render useful to his people, what to others would have been only matter of vain speculation.

Commerce of the Portuguese, 1417.

John I. raised to the throne by his courage and good conduct, though only the natural son of his predecessor, reigned in Portugal about the beginning of the fifteenth century. In mounting the throne, he engaged to maintain, at the same time, a civil and a foreign war, both of which he brought to a happy conclusion. He then began to think of finding employment for the brave and enterprizing men, produced by that critical period, in order to prevent them from disturbing the tranquillity which had been restored in his states. He had five sons, to whom

he gave an excellent education. Don Henry, the ſecond, ſhewed an early taſte for travelling; and his father ſaw him with pleaſure acquire mathematical and geographical knowledge proper for directing ſuch enterprizes. They began under John I. who, however, had not the ſatisfaction of ſeeing diſcoveries carried to any extent. Under his reign they were confined to the iſland of Madeira, to which an Engliſhman, flying with his miſtreſs from the perſecution of his relations, had already retired to conceal his amours. The Portugueſe found a monument which atteſted the abode of this happy couple in that ſolitude.

Don Henry, after the death of Don John, put himſelf at the head of theſe enterprizes, bequeathed to him, as we may ſay, by his father. He took poſſeſſion of the Canary Iſles, which were given up to him by a Frenchman named Béthancourt; and his right to them was confirmed by his nephew king Alphonſo. According to the prejudice which aſcribed to the pope a power of diſpenſing crowns, Portugal cauſed to be ceded to it excluſively by a diploma from pope Martin V. all the lands which ſhould be diſcovered as far as the Indies. In 1486, Bartholomew Diaz diſcovered Cape *Tormentoſo* *, ſo called becauſe he had there encountered moſt dreadful ſtorms; but king Alphonſo, perſuaded

* This is a Portugueſe word, which ſignifies *tempeſtuous*. TRANS.

that this cape pointed out the extremity of Africa, and that having once doubled it, the ſea would be found open to the Indies, gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope. After this period diſcoveries aſſumed a character of more general utility, and became an affair of ſtate.

In this point of view they were conſidered by John II. ſurnamed the Perfect, who ſucceeded king Alphonſo. In 1494 he equipped a ſmall ſquadron under Vaſco de Gama, and diſpatched after it a ſecond, much ſtronger, filled with regular troops, commanded by Alvarez de Cabral, who had orders to ſecond the efforts of Diaz. The latter returned crowned with ſucceſs and loaded with riches, which excited great emulation in the kingdom; but the Portugueſe experienced obſtacles to their conqueſts from the mahometans, who ſeeing themſelves on the point of being deprived of the commerce of the Indies by the Europeans, united againſt theſe intruding navigators. Francis Albuquerque, whoſe name has become ſo famous in the commercial hiſtory of India, was commiſſioned to attack this formidable league. He is conſidered as the founder of the Portugueſe power in India, becauſe he was the firſt who built there a fortreſs, together with a chapel. In this manner, ſay the Portugueſe, he took poſſeſſion both temporal and ſpiritual: yet before that period there had

been a viceroy named Francis de Almeyda, who by his valour and prudence had ſpread along the whole coaſt a terror of the Portugueſe arms. The jealouſy excited between men who have acquired great merit by their actions prevents them from agreeing long in the ſame place, and even induces them ſometimes to do injury to each other. It was found neceſſary to recal the viceroy, and the ſupreme power was conferred on Albuquerque under the title of commandant-general. On being inveſted with this high office, he began to execute certain operations, the plan of which had been concerted by the royal council, aſſiſted by the king himſelf, Don Emanuel, who, by a phenomenon very rare among princes, was as able as his father and grandfather, and as fit as they to continue the projects which had been begun. It was this perſeverance which rendered Portugal, though a ſmall kingdom, a great and mighty power.

It is generally agreed that this preponderance was owing chiefly to the ſuperior talents of Francis Albuquerque, who had all the qualities neceſſary for the commander of a diſtant enterprize. With a handful of troops he performed great exploits; took Malacca, Calicut, and Ormuz, places of great importance to the commerce of the mahometans; and eſtabliſhed himſelf at Goa, which is ſtill the ſeat of the Portugueſe empire in India. It is indeed confeſſed

that he was indebted for his ſucceſs as much to his abilities and political talents, as to the armies and fleets which he commanded. Albuquerque, attached to the ancient ſimplicity of his country, did not ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted, either by the power or the riches which he poſſeſſed. Being well acquainted with the Indian character, he affected great magnificence on public occaſions; but amidſt this ſplendour he admitted no relaxation in his early habits, and lived as frugally as any individual. What was due to the crown he exacted with rigour; but he never thought of improving his own private fortune, being ſatisfied with the income ariſing from his appointments.

All Albuquerque's officers were his friends. He took as much care to form them as the moſt tender father can take of the education of his children. He was cautious in puniſhing, and ready to reward. At table, his whole converſation was occupied with the gallant actions of his officers; but he obſerved ſilence reſpecting his own. It is remarked as a ſingular trait in his character, that he never promoted any of thoſe who attempted to inſinuate themſelves into his favour by flattery. Under his adminiſtration, flatterers, cowards, and diſhoneſt perſons, were always excluded from offices. With ſo many noble qualities, this hero was not free from faults. He had unbounded ambition, an

immoderate deſire of extending the dominion of the Portugueſe, and was not very ſcrupulous in regard to the juſtice of the means. In private life, Albuquerque was a man of the moſt rigid probity; but truth refuſes the ſame encomium to his public character.

He had conceived, it is ſaid, two grand projects; one of a ſtateſman, had it been practicable, and the other of a plunderer. Imagining that the Venetians, ſooner or latter, might be able to make the Indian commerce reſume its courſe through Alexandria; and perceiving that, with this view, they aſſiſted the Turks and barbarians againſt the Portugueſe; Albuquerque inſinuated to the emperor of Ethiopia, that, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt theſe dangerous neighbours, he ought to change the courſe of the Nile, by opening for it a paſſage by which it might diſcharge itſelf into the Arabian ſea before it entered Egypt. By theſe means it would have been impoſſible to tranſport the merchandize of India from the Red Sea to Alexandria; and the Portugueſe, maſter of the paſſages by the ocean, would have been in excluſive poſſeſſion of this commerce. The ſecond project was to ſend from Ormuz to Arabia, which is only ſeventy leagues diſtant, three hundred cavalry, who appeared to him ſufficient, to plunder the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca. Beſides the immenſe riches which would have

been acquired by this enterprize, Albuquerque foreſaw, that as it would put a ſtop to pilgrimages, that branch of the Indian commerce, carried on through Arabia, would be intercepted, and enrich the Portugueſe nation.

It is to be remarked, that Albuquerque died in diſgrace. His inflexible equity had raiſed up againſt him a great number of enemies, who endeavoured to perſuade the king, that his general paid more attention to his own intereſts than to thoſe of his maſter. Fearing, unfortunately, that government would not watch over the preſervation of Goa, with that care which the importance of the place required, he demanded it, under the title of a duchy. This demand accompliſhed more than his enemies. It gave umbrage to the king, and inſpired him with a reſolution of putting the government into other hands. Albuquerque was ſick when he learned that his enemy had been ſent to ſuperſede him. "What!" exclaimed he, "Soarez "governor of the Indies! Vaſconcellos and "Diego Peirez, whom I ordered to be convey-"ed to Portugal as criminals, ſent back with "honour! I have incurred the hatred of men "for the love of my king, and meet with diſ-"grace from the king for my love towards "men! To thy grave, unhappy old man! it is "time. To thy grave." He died at the age of ſixty-three, in the midſt of his triumphs, uni-

verſally eſteemed, but an example of the too common ingratitude of princes.

Commerce is the free communication of things, neceſſary, uſeful, and agreeable; but avarice perſuades nations, that to ſecure this communication, they have a right to employ violence, and to compel thoſe who refuſe to exchange their ſuperfluities. For this reaſon, Albuquerque thought himſelf authorized to build fortreſſes among the people whoſe treaſures the Portugueſe coveted. He erected them, he ſaid, to defend his countrymen from the inſults they might experience from the natives of the country, or the mahometans who enjoyed their confidence, and would not ſuffer themſelves, without making repriſals, to be deprived of a gain to which they had been accuſtomed. But what right have nations to puniſh acts of injuſtice which they go to provoke? The Portugueſe at firſt aſked only for a place of reſidence, a factory, and a warehouſe to ſecure their merchandize from the injuries of the weather: they then ſeized upon towns, and afterwards provinces and kingdoms. Theſe uſurpations, begun by Almeyda and Albuquerque, were continued by their ſucceſſors.

In leſs than fifty years the Portugueſe founded an aſtoniſhing empire, which on the one ſide extended as far as the extreme coaſts of Perſia. They were maſters, as it were, of the whole

Perſian gulph. From ſome of the petty princes of Arabia they received tribute; with others they were in alliance; by all they were reſpected and dreaded. On the one ſide of Arabia they were connected with the empire of Ethiopia, at whoſe court they were in great credit. Almoſt all the ports on the coaſt of India and the frontiers of Perſia were in their hands. They poſſeſſed the whole coaſt of Malabar, that of Coromandel and Bengal, the town and peninſula of Malacca, while the large iſland of Ceylon, and thoſe of Sonda, were tributary to them. The Moluccas were entirely under their dominion; in a word, they had an eſtabliſhment at China, and liberty of trading with Japan.

The moſt flouriſhing ſtate of this empire was 1554.
under the viceroy Don Conſtantine de Braganza. The authority of the perſon who occupied this poſt was unlimited in regard to military affairs. His tribunal decided in the firſt inſtance, and without freedom of appeal, in all civil caſes; but he could not without the king's approbation put to death a Portugueſe gentleman; and all in the king's ſervice are conſidered as entitled to that rank. There was no other counterpoiſe to this great power than the ſhortneſs of its duration, which was fixed at three years. The ample income ariſing from his appointments enabled him to live with magnificence, which was the more neceſſary, as he had command over ſeveral kings, either tributaries or vaſſals. The

Portugueſe had factories in the ports of theſe princes, ſet an arbitrary price on the productions and manufactures of the country, and pretended to the right of preference in buying or ſelling; ſo that the mahometans, and even the native Indians, found themſelves abſolutely excluded from commerce. The Portugueſe, by theſe means, accumulated immenſe riches in gold and precious ſtones, ſpices, valuable kinds of wood, drugs, and ſtuffs, which their fleets went in queſt of to the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, the gulph of Bengal, the kingdoms of Camboja, the Deccan, Malacca, Patan, and Siam; the iſlands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Moluccas; and even to China and Japan. Theſe riches were conveyed to Portugal, where all the nations of Europe went to purchaſe them at whatever price the Portugueſe thought proper to put upon them.

It needs, therefore, create no ſurprize that ſo ſmall a kingdom ſhould be able to equip prodigious fleets, and to ſend ſo many people to theſe remote countries. Their proſperity, and a deſire of participating in their riches, cauſed a continual influx of ſtrangers among them both in Europe and in the Indies. It muſt here be obſerved, that this commerce was much more advantageous than it has been ſince that period; becauſe the Portugueſe having no competitors, found no oppoſition to the tolls which they im-

poſed upon merchandize the productions of the country. On the one ſide they depreciated, on the other enhanced, to an extraordinary degree, the value of the European merchandize, of which they were the only diſtributors. Thus they accumulated immenſe fortunes, which having attained to their utmoſt extent among individuals, and the nation in general, declined rapidly, by that deſtructive corruption which is inſeparable from overgrown wealth, as well as by foreign cauſes.

When that enthuſiaſm for glory which had guided the firſt Portugueſe adventurers to more opulent countries had ſubſided, and when their power was fully eſtabliſhed, there remained nothing for thoſe who followed them but a deſire to amaſs wealth. Theſe ſordid views introduced a corruption of morals, the conſequence of immenſe riches, abſolute power, and exceſſive luxury. That ſincere piety, that generous courage, and the indefatigable induſtry, which had made the firſt conquerors be conſidered as ſuperior to humanity, ſoon diſappeared. Their ſucceſſors became lazy and indolent, cowardly, and debauched. Diſcord prevailed among thoſe who governed; and by inconveniences which it was impoſſible for the mother country to obviate ſpeedily, at ſuch a diſtance, there aroſe ſeveral viceroys at the ſame time, who diſputed with each other for the ſupreme authority. The

conſequence was, that the chiefs made themſelves independent, while inſubordination prevailed among the people, and want of diſcipline among the troops. The unfortunate ſtate of Portugal, which, by the imprudence and tragical death of its king, Don Sebaſtian, had fallen under the Spaniſh ſceptre, gave a mortal blow to the important colony in India. It found itſelf involved in the wars which Spain carried on in Europe; and it experienced the effects of them at a time when the Portugueſe had excited the hatred of the Indians by their imperious character, the ſeverity of their government, and their obſtinacy in endeavouring to expel from the country the Arabs, the Meſtize, and the blacks, their only rivals in commerce.

Hitherto oppreſſed, and unable to reſiſt the great forces which arrived every year from Liſbon, theſe mahometans maintained with difficulty a precarious commerce. They emerged, however, with ardour from that ſtate of ſubjection as ſoon as they could flatter themſelves with the hopes of being ſupported by the Dutch, with whom they made a common cauſe againſt the Portugueſe. Enured to fatigue, and firmly united; having every thing to hope, and nothing to loſe; theſe induſtrious Hollanders were engaged againſt a nation divided in its councils, depraved in its morals, and deteſted by its ſubjects and neighbours; ſo that they even found means to

eſtabliſh themſelves in ſome of the diſtant iſlands. Aſſiſted by freſh recruits, which arrived from the Netherlands, they ſupplanted the Portugueſe, and ſtripped them of their domains by intrigue, in leſs time than the latter had acquired them by the force of their arms.

The Portugueſe had five principal ſettlements for their commerce: Goa the capital, Mozambique, Ormuz, Maſcate, Ceylon, and Malacca.

Mozambique.

The iſland of Mozambique, though adjacent to the coaſt of Africa, if conſidered in a commercial view, belongs rather to India. It is ſituated at the diſtance of half a league from the continent. Its bay forms a port, and it has an excellent fortreſs. It is inhabited by people of all nations, and all religions, to the number of about three or four thouſand. The ſoil is exceedingly barren; but all the conveniences of life are procured from the continent, as well as rich merchandize, ſuch as gold in bars and in duſt, ſilver, ebony, ivory, the beſt ſlaves on the coaſt, cattle, poultry, palm-wine, fruits, and roots; for which they give in exchange Spaniſh and Canary wine, oil, ſilk, cotton-ſtuffs, coral, ſhells which ſerve as money, and toys of all kinds. This government is very productive, and a fortune may be ſoon acquired in it; but at the expenſe of enduring the inconvenience of exceſſive heat, and running the riſk of the unwholſomeneſs of the climate.

Ormuz. Ormuz, ſituated at the entrance of the Perſian gulph, is a rock of ſalt without a drop of freſh water. It has two indifferent ports, but in the bay ſhips may lie at anchor with ſafety. Its ſituation has long rendered it one of the moſt celebrated places of trade in the eaſt. It affords a ſtriking example of what may be done by commerce; ſince with this ſingle rock, and a very ſmall diſtrict oppoſite to it on the continent, the kings of Ormuz were monarchs whoſe alliance was courted by the moſt powerful ſovereigns. Its ports were filled with ſhips from every part of the Indies; from the coaſts of Africa, Egypt, and Arabia. The riches they carried thither were tranſported chiefly to Baſſorah; thence by the caravan to Aleppo, or by ſea to Suez, and afterwards by land or by the Nile to Alexandria, whither the Venetians went to receive them. This was the principal ſource of their commerce.

We may form ſome opinion of that of Ormuz by the deſcription of this ſmall iſland during the two ſeaſons of its being viſited by foreign nations, in January and February, September and October, when the power of the Portugueſe ſhone forth in its full ſplendour. Ormuz, at that time, was the wonder of the world. A continual ſtir was obſerved among thoſe who frequented it; ſome of whom, it may be ſaid, came from the remoteſt boundaries of the globe,

to collect the fruits of traffic. Every thing exhibited a ſpectacle of pleaſure and of joy. The ſaline duſt of the ſtreets was concealed by neat mats and rich carpets. The paſſengers were protected from the ſcorching rays of the mid-day ſun by awnings which projected from the roofs of the houſes. The apartments next the ſtreet were decorated with Indian cabinets, and piles of the moſt beautiful porcelain, intermixed with ſhrubs and odoriferous plants in gilt vaſes, ornamented with various figures. Camels laden with water were found at the corners of all the ſtreets. The moſt delicious wines of Perſia, the moſt exquiſite perfumes, and every luxury that the eaſt can furniſh, were diſplayed here in the utmoſt profuſion.

During the continuance of each ſeaſon, which might be about ſix weeks, a variety of different ſcenes attracted the notice of the curious obſerver. Artifice and gravity prevailed on the exchange; an air of officious politeneſs ſhone forth in the ſhops. The Portugueſe officers, both civil and military, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by haughty looks and a conſequential gait. An air of admiration and contentment was diſplayed in the eyes of the ſpectators, and of tranſport and joy in the public places, where rope-dancers, tumblers, quacks, fortune-tellers, and other people of the like kind, exerciſed their talents to amuſe and deceive the multitude.

The caravans from Aleppo to Baſſorah, conſiſting of three or four thouſand camels, and five or ſix thouſand perſons, brought to Ormuz twice a year the merchandize of Europe. Thoſe which traverſed Perſia, and which were no leſs richly laden, completed their journey alſo at Ormuz, whither the valuable articles of India were conveyed by the commerce eſtabliſhed with Malacca. The Portugueſe exacted duties for all merchandize as well as proviſions, and reſerved to themſelves excluſively ſome branches of commerce, ſuch as that with pearls and horſes; but they ſuffered this valuable port to be taken from them by the Perſians, in conjunction with the Engliſh. After the iſland fell under the power of the former, the trade was transferred to Bender Abaſſi, but not in the hands of the Portugueſe. Ormuz has been depopulated. The Dutch, under the pretence of procuring ballaſt, carried away even the materials of the houſes. At preſent it is deſerted, and there ſcarcely remain a few ruins to indicate that it was formerly the grand magazine of the eaſt.

Maſcate. It is ſufficiently ſeen by what has been ſaid of Mozambique and Ormuz in what the commerce of India chiefly conſiſts, what are its objects, its advantages, and the manner of carrying it on. I ſhall, at preſent, therefore, mention only ſuch of the Portugueſe poſſeſſions as appear moſt worthy of notice, either among thoſe they retain,

or thoſe they have loſt. Maſcate is among the number of the latter. Situated on a ſmall bay of Arabia the Happy, poſſeſſing an excellent harbour, and defended by natural means, aſſiſted by thoſe of art, it is ſtyled a terreſtrial paradiſe inhabited by angels. It is a terreſtrial paradiſe, becauſe the valleys by which it is ſurrounded are fertile, and covered with flowers; becauſe they produce all our fruits, and even our grapes, as well as thoſe of India; and becauſe they afford nouriſhment to herds of cattle, with which a great trade is carried on as well as with the productions of the earth. It is ſaid to be inhabited by angels, becauſe theſe mahometan ſages have purified the morality of the Koran. They abſtain not only from wine and ſtrong liquors, but even from tea and coffee, as beverages rather ſenſual than uſeful. As frugal and temperate in eating as they are in other things, they have no law againſt debauchery, becauſe it is unknown to them. They are ſtrangers alſo to robbery; and juſtice is exerciſed without ſeverity. They are exceedingly charitable, and their charity is the offspring of mildneſs and benignity. Their commercial buſineſs is tranſacted in the day-time. No trade is allowed, nor are the crews of any veſſel ſuffered to go on ſhore, after ſun-ſet. An Arab prince is the ruler of this town, and of the ſurrounding diſtrict, which

the Portugueſe loſt by their pride and injuſtice towards other trading nations.

On the coaſt of Malabar, in general, as far as Cape Comorin, of which the Portugueſe formerly had almoſt the excluſive poſſeſſion, they are now intermixed with the Engliſh, the Dutch, the French, and the petty ſovereigns of the country, who have ſucceſſively recovered a great part of their poſſeſſions. Diu, ſtill a conſiderable town, ſituated on an agreeable peninſula, is the mart of Guzarat. Veſſels are attracted thither by the proviſions and other refreſhments, which the Portugueſe take care to provide at a reaſonable price. Daman withſtood the attack of Aureng-Zeb. Its commerce has been cruſhed by the Engliſh at Bombay, who cauſed the Portugueſe to cede to them that port, which is the beſt on the coaſt of Malabar. Chaul has remained in the hands of the Portugueſe, but they have loſt Onor. It is in the poſſeſſion of the natives, as well as Cananor, Calicut, Cranganor and Coulam, all places of importance for the pepper trade. The Dutch obliged the Portugueſe to reſtore them to the natives, by forming alliances with ſome of them themſelves.

The Maldivia iſlands are deſpiſed by the Portugueſe writers as being of little utility, and peopled by wretched and barbarous inhabitants.

But the king of theſe iſlands, the number of which is not known, ſtyles himſelf, *Sultan of the thirteen provinces and twelve thouſand iſles.* Neither the one or the other are entitled to credit. Theſe iſles are not of ſo much importance as their ſovereign imagines; nor of ſo little conſequence as the Portugueſe wiſh to make us believe. They requeſted permiſſion to conſtruct a fort in Malé the capital. Their requeſt was readily granted; but no ſooner did they find themſelves protected by a wretched foſs, and a rampart of faſcines, than they began to act the maſters, though in number only ſeventeen. They were, however, all put to death by the inhabitants, who never after would admit any more of them. They have loſt alſo the protection of the pearl-fiſhery, which is near the Maldives; a protection of great utility taken from them by the Dutch, when they deprived them of a more important poſſeſſion, the iſland of Ceylon. All the names given to this iſle are epithets expreſſive of praiſe; *the ſacred land; the fertile land; the darling of the earth.* It is one of the largeſt and richeſt iſlands in the world. It produces long-pepper, fine cotton, ivory, ſilk, tobacco, ebony, muſk, cryſtal, ſaltpetre, lead, iron, ſteel, copper, precious ſtones, elephants; and, what is of more importance than all theſe, cinnamon.

From Ceylon it was natural for the Portu- Malacca.

gueſe to ſtretch along the coaſt of Coromandel, which was before their eyes; but they eſtabliſhed there only a few factories for their commerce: Negapatnam, which was taken from them by the Dutch, and St. Thomas, or Meliapour, which at preſent belongs to the Moors. Traverſing the gulph, they proceeded thence to Pegu, where they loſt their credit by the laſcivious imprudence of one of their generals, who cauſed the moſt beautiful females to be brought to him for his private pleaſures. Other political and mercantile faults reduced almoſt to nothing the trade which they carried on at Siam. Their diſaſters followed each other in rapid ſucceſſion, and increaſed as ſoon as they had ſuffered themſelves to be deprived of Malacca, built on the extremity of a peninſula, in the moſt advantageous ſituation for ſecuring the iſles of Sonda, which are now become the property of the Dutch.

Sonda Iſles. If we follow the Portugueſe to the Sonda iſles and the Moluccas, we ſhall find the ſame ſucceſſes and the ſame reverſes of fortune. At Sumatra, they could not obtain leave to conſtruct a fortreſs, and were obliged to content themſelves with liberty to trade. The pirates of Java, inſtead of being intimidated by the large Portugueſe galleys, made deſcents on their coaſts; but their kings, petty princes among whom little harmony prevailed, were not able

to avoid the payment of a ſmall tribute. At Borneo they entered into a treaty, and both parties found more advantage in an amicable arrangement, than they could have done in a war. The natives of this iſland have abandoned the coaſts to the Moors, and retired to the interior part of the country, where they retain their ancient manners, and their religion. They do not worſhip idols; their offerings, which conſiſt of perfumes, are preſented to that god alone who rewards the good in heaven, and puniſhes the wicked in hell. They confine themſelves to one wife: and conjugal infidelity in both ſexes is puniſhed with death. Their various tribes live in great amity with each other. The Macaſſars, or inhabitants of the iſle of Celebes, are mahometans by accident. Having become tired of the abſurd religion which they profeſſed, they ſent to the governor of Malacca, and the queen of Achem, to requeſt from the one chriſtian prieſts, and from the other mahometan doctors. The latter arrived firſt. It was in vain for the miſſionaries, who followed, to preach: the religion of Mahomet prevailed. The Macaſſars are accounted the braveſt and moſt intrepid of all the Indians. They are celebrated alſo for their great knowledge in regard to poiſons; they have ſome, the effects of which are ſo violent, that to ſmell them, or touch them, is inſtant death. In theſe poiſons they dip the

points of ſmall darts, which they diſcharge to a conſiderable diſtance, with great preciſion, from hollow tubes. They poiſon alſo ſome of their poinards, ſo that a ſlight ſcratch from them proves mortal.

Muloccas. New Guinea

The Portugueſe formed ſettlements alſo at the Moluccas. The Spaniards under Charles V. pretended that theſe iſlands were not included in the part granted to the Portugueſe by the demarcation of Martin V. The two nations were on the point of entering into hoſtilities reſpecting their diſtant poſſeſſions; but the emperor, embarraſſed by his wars in Europe, reſigned his right for a ſum of money. The Portugueſe behaved here with great cruelty. Their own hiſtorians acknowledge that they robbed the inhabitants without remorſe; maſſacred them without mercy; ſwore to treaties which they had no intention of obſerving; deceived their kings, and deſtroyed them by poiſon or aſſaſſination. The valuable fruits of theſe iſlands, cloves and nutmegs, which ought to have enſured happineſs to the inhabitants, were the cauſe of misfortune, by the avarice of thoſe who wiſhed for the excluſive poſſeſſion of theſe ſpices.

The moſt important of theſe iſlands are in number five, which all lie in ſight of each other. Ternate produces abundance of cloves. The inhabitants perceiving that theſe fatal riches expoſed them to the perſecution of the Portu-

gueſe, burnt all the clove trees, and retired to the interior part of the iſland; but the aſhes, in the courſe of a few years, rendered the ſoil ſo fertile, that it produced more than ever. This iſland is governed by a king, who can bring into the field a hundred thouſand men. That of Tidor is no leſs powerful. The other iſlands, called Metil, Machian, and Labora, produce abundance of cloves alſo. They experienced ſo much bad treatment from the Portugueſe during the time they had them in their poſſeſſion, which was about a century, that they were almoſt converted into deſerts. It would appear, that attempts to make the natives embrace chriſtianity had a great ſhare in the perſecutions which drove theſe people to deſpair, becauſe when they admitted the Dutch among them, they made it an article in their treaties, that they ſhould not be moleſted on account of their religion. From the Moluccas the Portugueſe proceeded to New Guinea, which has been called alſo the country of the *Papoos*. There is found here a race of men, whoſe eyes are incapable of enduring the light of the ſun, but who in the night-time are active and lively. The productions of this country being incapable of procuring great riches, it was ſoon abandoned by the Portugueſe.

They had, however, opened a very advan- China
tageous trade with China and Japan; but they loſt it, as they did the reſt, by their imprudence.

Notwithſtanding the natural averſion which the Chineſe have to ſtrangers, a fleet of eight ſhips, richly laden, which Albuquerque had diſpatched, was well received at Canton; but while the chiefs of the expedition were gaining the friendſhip of the Chineſe in the town by their honeſty in trading, and their diſintereſtedneſs, the captains of the ſhips, which had remained at the mouth of the river, together with their officers, began to treat the Chineſe as they had treated all the other nations of India. They landed cannon, took whatever pleaſed them at ſuch a price as they thought proper, and committed other acts of violence. The viceroy being informed of theſe proceedings, equipped a fleet with all ſpeed; ſurrounded the Portugueſe ſquadron, and would certainly have taken it, had it not been ſaved by a ſtorm. By means of long-continued ſupplication, and a piece of ſervice which they rendered to the Chineſe in freeing them from a troubleſome pirate, they obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh themſelves at Macao. Though the place is ſmall, and affords little accommodation, they received this preſent with gratitude, becauſe it contains an excellent harbour. The town is fortified in the European manner. The Chineſe, though the moſt ſuſpicious people in the world, never conceived any umbrage on account of this fortification, becauſe they have taken ſuch precautions, that they are abſolute

maſters of the Portugueſe, who have never more proviſions than are ſufficient for a few days, and who are ſo well watched, that they never can undertake any thing to the prejudice of the empire.

The Japaneſe freed themſelves from theſe cares by expelling the Portugueſe for ever. They had granted them great liberty in the kingdom. They went and came as they pleaſed; traverſed the provinces, and bought and ſold without experiencing any obſtacles or reſtraint. They were even ſuffered to propagate their religion. In a little time it made great progreſs; it was embraced by ſome of the Japaneſe princes, and increaſed ſo much as to give umbrage. The imprudence of an ambaſſador of Philip II. after the union of the crown of Portugal to that of Spain, added ſtrength to the ſuſpicions of the government. This envoy pointing out one day on a map, with an affected air, the extent of his maſter's dominions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, a Japaneſe aſked him how his maſter had been able to acquire ſuch vaſt poſſeſſions, at ſo great a diſtance from his hereditary ſtates. The ambaſſador replied, "By firſt ſending miſſionaries to convert the inhabitants to chriſtianity, and then troops to aſſiſt the new converts to ſhake off the yoke of the infidel princes." Japan.

The emperor thought that he ſaw this ſyſtem of invaſion realiſed in the reſiſtance which the

chriſtians made to the orders iſſued againſt their religion. They aſſembled in a body, fought, and were beat; and a reſolution was then formed to expel for ever the Portugueſe who had introduced a religion ſo refractory. Two ſhips which had arrived from Macao in the harbour of Nangazacki to trade as uſual, received this ruinous and humiliating decree. The commander was aſſured that theſe two ſhips would be the laſt ſuffered to enter the ports of Japan, and that all thoſe which ſhould dare to appear there in future would be treated as enemies. Never was a ſentence put in execution with more rigour. Four Portugueſe gentlemen, ſenſible of the great advantage which the re-eſtabliſhment of this commerce would be to their nation, ventured to land at Japan, under the title of ambaſſadors; but they, and the greater part of their retinue, amounting to ſixty-one perſons, were beheaded. The Japaneſe ſaved only thirteen of them to navigate a wretched veſſel, in order that they might carry back to Macao an account of what had paſſed, and the threat of a like fate to all thoſe who ſhould dare to appear on their coaſts. Some Portugueſe even who had conveyed to Japan a few of the natives, whom they had ſaved after being ſhipwrecked, and had treated with humanity, received no other anſwer than thanks, and an order never to return. The Dutch, by their intrigues and accuſations, had a great in-

fluence in regard to theſe ſevere reſolutions, which conſigned into their hands this lucrative branch of the Portugueſe trade, to the excluſion of all other nations.

Such then is the ſkeleton of the Portugueſe trade in India, weakened and conſumed like a man exhauſted by years. Goa, the ſuperb Goa, unrivalled in regard to the advantages and beauty of its ſituation, exhibits evident marks of its decline. The public edifices ſtill retain a majeſtic appearance; the houſes are handſome, and the beſt built in India; but they are by far too numerous for the inhabitants. The latter amount to nearly twenty thouſand. The Portugueſe form the ſmalleſt part of them; the Meſtizos are the next in number, and after them the Canarians, or natives of the country, who are black like the Ethiopians, but have long hair, and regular features. The remainder of the people is compoſed of a multitude of negro ſlaves, and other idolaters of different nations. A great part of the town is occupied by the convents. The jeſuits had here five houſes, and theſe were not too many for the trade which, it is ſaid, they carried on. The commerce here is however no longer carried on by the Portugueſe. Being all military officers, judges, receivers of the public revenues, or dignified clergy, they think it unworthy of their grandeur to have any concern in mercantile affairs. The whole profit ariſ- Goa.

ing from commerce, the duties or other emoluments deſtined for the royal treaſury, are ſwallowed up by their ſalaries, and very little is tranſmitted to Liſbon. The inhabitants of Goa are ſaid to be almoſt all haughty, inſolent, jealous, revengeful, and wretched; the women, proud and laſcivious, and the moſt expert poiſoners in the world: the clergy live in luxury, and are exceedingly rich. The inquiſition here, though of horrid celebrity, is not ſo formidable as ſome have pretended. It retains no power but over thoſe who profeſs chriſtianity.

Notwithſtanding its exhauſted ſtate, it would not be impoſſible, with application and induſtry, to inſpire new life into this enervated body. The greater part of the Portugueſe ſettlements ſtill remain in their hands, which is a great advantage to a commercial people. Their character is not ſo much blaſted as not to be ſtill accompanied with ſome eſteem. They have ſources of correſpondence already formed; they are not deſtitute of capitals; and it is only requiſite that they ſhould turn them to advantage themſelves, and not abandon them to the management of mercenaries who deceive them. It would be neceſſary alſo to introduce ſome reformation in morals, particularly in regard to mixed marriages, which from the ſecond generation corrupt the Portugueſe blood, and ſubſtitute arrogant indolence in the room of haughtineſs, the

moſt prominent feature in the character of that nation.

Commerce of the Spaniards.

The demarcation of Martin V. ſolicited by the Portugueſe, as already ſaid, was conſidered as an irrefragable title which ſecured to them the excluſive property of the Indies, becauſe they imagined that it was impoſſible to go thither except by the route they had purſued; and that theſe rich countries would of courſe be always within the line by which their property was bounded. Ferdinand Magalhins, however, known under the name of Magellan, having been preſent at the diſcovery of the Moluccas by the Portugueſe, conceived that a paſſage might be found thither, different from that by the Cape of Good Hope and the Indian ſeas; and that theſe rich iſles, being then diſcovered beyond the Portugueſe line of demarcation, might become the property of thoſe who landed on them by this new route. He had ſcarcely begun to entertain theſe ideas, when he returned to Portugal, and being refuſed a ſmall augmentation to his pay which he demanded, he entered into the ſervice of Spain.

When Ferdinand and Iſabella, the ſovereigns of Caſtile and Leon, had added to their united ſtates America, diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus, they procured from Alexander VI. after the example of Don Henry, a demarcation of their new domains. Magellan, diſguſted by

the council of Portugal, preſented himſelf to the council of Spain, under Charles V. and propoſed to him the acquiſition of the ſpice iſlands; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that it would be no infringement of the right given to the Portugueſe by the bull of Martin V. as that of Alexander VI. aſſigned theſe iſles to the Spaniards, by opening a route which would conduct them through the Great Southern Ocean, without touching at the Cape of Good Hope, or croſſing the Indian ſeas. The queſtion was, to diſcover this route. Magellan pointed it out at a part of the globe where different countries were ſuppoſed to lie contiguous to each other. His obſervations had induced him to ſuppoſe that a paſſage might be found between them; and the council of Spain furniſhed him with veſſels to make the attempt. Magellan, as he had promiſed, proceeded by this new route to ſome iſlands in the neighbourhood of the Moluccas, and the ſtrait through which he paſſed ſtill retains his name. He had no other reward for his ſucceſs; having expoſed himſelf imprudently on one of theſe iſlands, he was killed by the ſavages.

The Portugueſe were alarmed at this diſcovery, which ſeemed to threaten the ruin of the chief foundation of their opulence. They referred to the bull of Martin V. The Spaniards oppoſed to it that of Alexander VI. The two

nations were on the point of coming to a rupture; but the Portugueſe, in order to prevent it, made propoſals of money to Charles V. This prince, who was always needy, ſuffered them, in oppoſition to the council of Spain, to keep poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands, but without renouncing his right. The Spaniards aſſerted it under Philip II. his ſon. They ſent a ſquadron by the ſtrait of Magellan to take poſſeſſion of the iſles at which he had landed; and from the name of their king called them the Philippines. The hoſtilities, on account of this poſſeſſion, between the Portugueſe and the Spaniards, ceaſed in thoſe ſeas when the two monarchies formed only one by their union after the death of Don Sebaſtian king of Portugal. When theſe kingdoms were again ſeparated, on the acceſſion of the houſe of Braganza to the throne of Portugal, the Philippines were annexed, and are ſtill ſo, to Spain. It is to be remarked then that the iſſuing of two bulls, conſidered perhaps by thoſe who gave and thoſe who received them as a piece of vain formality, was the cauſe of an enterprize highly uſeful to the progreſs of navigation.

The Philippines.

The Chineſe hiſtorians ſay that their countrymen were maſters of theſe iſlands; the Japaneſe make a pretence of the like kind: but the former, more avaricious, have often endeavoured to diſturb the Spaniards in their poſſeſſion; ſo that, before they were firmly eſtabliſhed,

they had to defend themſelves againſt ſurprize from the Chineſe, the jealouſy of the Portugueſe, the efforts of the Moors and Arabs leagued together to expel theſe new gueſts, the ferocity of the ſavage natives, and, above all, the malevolence of the Dutch. Matters proceeded ſo far, that it was ſeriouſly deliberated in Spain whether the Philippines ſhould not be abandoned; and they are ſtill retained, not ſo much for the ſake of profiting by them, as to prevent the profit of others; but the pretence held out by the pious Spaniards was, that the ſavages whom they had begun to convert might not be ſuffered to relapſe into their former errors.

The chief iſland of the Philippines is called Luconia, and its capital Manilla. It may be about four hundred leagues in circumference; and is admirably ſituated, at the diſtance of ſixty leagues from China, and a hundred and ſixty from Japan. It commands, by its poſition, an archipelago, ſaid to conſiſt of eleven hundred iſlands, great and ſmall. It has oppoſite to it Malacca, Siam, Camboja, and Cochinchina; and is furniſhed with a large and excellent harbour. The climate, in general, is warm and moiſt. The rains, winds, ſtorms, thunder, and inundations, all take place at certain regular periods. The days and the nights are always equal. On account of the fertility of the ſoil the growth of

all ſorts of productions is ſpeedy and prodigious: The trees are covered at the ſame time with bloſſoms and with fruits. Rice grows everywhere, and almoſt without cultivation. The meadows are in a ſtate of vegetation in every ſeaſon. Among the animals found here is the civet-cat, the muſk of which is much eſteemed. A great deal of amber is caſt on ſhore by the ſea; and wax coſts only the trouble of collecting it in the foreſts. There is no country more abundant or in which people might live ſo agreeably were they not often alarmed by earthquakes. The duſt on which the inhabitants tread is gold, and ſome of it is picked up in the rivers; but the Indians will not dig the earth to ſearch for it, becauſe the Spaniards take it from them. As theſe imperious maſters, however, require ſome by way of tribute, their ſubjects collect about fifteen hundred pounds of it annually.

It is inhabited by people of various kinds: Moors, called *Tagales*, from Borneo; Malays from Malacca; painted Indians, called *Pintados*, who are believed to be the aborigines of the country; and blacks, named *Negrillos*, enthuſiaſts for liberty, and miſchievous to each other. Thoſe at the top of a mountain are enemies to thoſe who inhabit the middle; and thoſe on the middle perſecute thoſe at the bottom. They all, however, unite againſt the Spaniards, who give

them no quarter; but they live in harmony with another nation, called *Tinghians*, ſuppoſed to be deſcended from the Japaneſe, a mild, ſociable people, who never do any hurt except when attempts are made againſt their liberty. In the laſt place, the Chineſe are here very numerous, chiefly around Manilla, though they are forbidden to remain in the iſland beyond ſtated periods. They are nevertheleſs tolerated, but treated with ſeverity.

The iſland of Luconia, or Manilla, as it is moſt commonly called, preſents a cultivated and poliſhed country, beautiful women, agreeable gardens, and well-built houſes, though conſtructed of wood, on account of the earthquakes. Manilla is the reſidence of an archbiſhop, who has three ſuffragan biſhops in the other iſlands. The captain-general is dignified with the title of viceroy. He has under his command nearly four thouſand men. He preſides alſo in the civil tribunal. The tribute paid by the Indians is a capitation tax; but it is paid in productions, and ſuch as are moſt common in the iſland.

There are very few particulars in regard to the iſlands dependent on Luconia, which do not form a part of the general deſcription. The largeſt, next to Luconia, is Mindanao, which produces ſugar-canes and cinnamon. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that all this archipelago does not belong to the Spaniards. The iſle of

Xolo is ſubject to a king of its own. This is the only one of the Philippines in which there are elephants. It is the centre of the commerce carried on by the Moors, and the Mecca of this archipelago: but theſe mahometans are not rigid. They are acquainted with only three articles of their religion: to eat no pork; to be circumciſed; and to maintain a plurality of wives. They all agree in placing great faith in augury and predictions. They are remarkably temperate. Though ſurrounded by ſpices, they never make uſe of them. Their dreſs is ſimple, and each is his own taylor. The women even are not very ambitious of ornaments. Their cuſtoms approach near to thoſe of Barbary and Africa. If a father expends any money for his ſon, or redeems him from ſlavery, he conſiders him as his own ſlave; the ſon does the ſame in regard to the father: they are much addicted to piracy.

The commerce of the Philippines from one iſland to another is conſiderable; but it is more important with the Chineſe, who carry thither, in great abundance, their own merchandize, and that of Japan. That with America is carried on by a firſt-rate veſſel deeply laden, which departs every year from Manilla for Acapulco, depoſits there the productions of Aſia, and carries back few of the American productions, which would make very little figure when op-

poſed to the produce of Aſiatic induſtry, were they not combined with a great deal of European merchandize, and particularly toys, which in theſe iſles are highly neceſſary. The route of this valuable ſhip, the time of departure, the places where it muſt touch, the ſignals to be employed, and its internal police, are all regulated with the greateſt care. No precaution is neglected in regard to its equipment and defence. They have not, however, prevented it from being ſeveral times taken by the Engliſh. It employs ſix months in going, and as many in returning. It is built at the Philippines, which ſupplies the moſt beautiful timber in the world. There are few inſtances of this veſſel ever being loſt; and if ſuch an event takes place, it is on approaching the coaſt; which is very aſtoniſhing in ſo long a paſſage, where there could be no reſource; for every part of the tract is at an immenſe diſtance from land, if we except a few ſmall iſlands, rarely ſeen, that are, as it were, imperceptible points in this vaſt ocean. As abundant a ſtock of freſh water as poſſible is put on board; but it would not always be ſufficient were it not renewed by the rains which the veſſel meets with in a certain latitude. Mats are then ſuſpended to receive the water, and, by means of bamboos fitted to them below, it is conveyed into jars. This relief, however, uncertain it may appear, never fails.

The Spaniſh families ſettled in the Philippines rarely leave them; as they could carry with them to Spain but very moderate fortunes. They live well in the Philippines, but do not become rich. Beſides, it is difficult to find the opportunity of a direct paſſage, and it is always extremely dear. Being thus once accuſtomed to the climate, they remain the more readily, as the government is remarkably mild. The viceroy indeed poſſeſſes abſolute power, and might become a tyrant; but the council of Spain has provided againſt this evil, by changing the commandant, as the Portugueſe do, at leaſt every five years. There is alſo another precaution at the Philippines. A viceroy, on the expiration of his time, cannot embark for Europe until his conduct has been ſtrictly examined. Sixty days are allowed to the inhabitants, after his departure has been proclaimed, to bring forward their complaints, and thirty to proſecute. The ſucceſſor, in virtue of an expreſs commiſſion, is generally the judge. This inqueſt was formerly very ſevere, and the puniſhment difficult to be eluded. There are inſtances of viceroys committing ſuicide to avoid being diſgraced and puniſhed: others have died in priſon. At preſent, a bribe of a hundred thouſand crowns given to a ſucceſſor are capable of clearing a predeceſſor. The people ſometimes have not been ſatisfied with this juſtification.

Several viceroys ſpared by the judge have not eſcaped the vengeance of the multitude; and thus, as certain authors ſay, a great evil carries with it its remedy.

Marianne Iſlands.

The Marianne or Ladrone iſlands form the natural boundary which Providence has interpoſed between Aſia and America. They were firſt diſcovered by Magellan, who found them peopled by men who ſupplied by induſtry the want of every thing denied to them by nature. Though deſtitute of iron, they had arms, which they employed with ſtrength and dexterity: they conſiſted of long javelins of very hard wood headed with human bones, rendered exceedingly ſharp, which inflicted poiſonous and mortal wounds. They could throw ſtones with ſuch force and preciſion, as to make them enter the trunk of a tree. They are, perhaps, the only people of the earth who were unacquainted with fire. They ſwim with ſo much agility, that water ſeems to be their proper element. Their ſmall veſſels, called prows, which they navigate ſkilfully from one iſland to another, both with oars and ſails, are worthy of admiration. The iſlands, about fourteen or ſixteen in number, lie at a conſiderable diſtance from each other. Theſe barks are made of the trunks of trees, hollowed out with ſhells and flints, which have been ſharpened. The ſail is a mat; and the filaments of leaves or roots, rendered pliant and

flexible, ſupply the place of cordage. Neceſſity and wants have made theſe iſlanders ſo far ſenſible of the utility of iron, that they would expoſe themſelves to any riſk to obtain it. Being admitted by Magellan on board his ſhip, ſpite of every precaution which could be employed, they pulled out the nails, ſeized the hatchets and ſwords, and leaped into the ſea with their booty. For this reaſon theſe iſlands got the name of the Ladrones*; they were called alſo the Marianne iſlands, after a queen of Spain. The latter name they retain ſtill.

The largeſt, called Guahan, or St. John, is about a hundred leagues in circumference. Its aſpect is delightful; it exhibits continual verdure and groves, interſperſed with lawns covered with animals of every kind, ſuch as oxen and hogs, which are a great reſource to the navigators of the Acapulco ſhip, who never fail to touch at theſe iſlands. Among the trees found here is that which produces the bread fruit: this fruit is ſhaped like a pear, and its pulp is as nouriſhing as bread. The climate is warm, as muſt be the caſe in the torrid zone; but the heat is moderated by the ſea breezes. Theſe iſlands are not all peopled. As they lie at ſuch a great diſtance from the continent it is not known whence the firſt inhabitants emigrated.

* *Ladron* in Spaniſh ſignifies a thief. T.

They conſiſt of three diſtinct claſſes: the nobles, called *chamorris;* the middle claſs; and the populace. The *chamorris,* intoxicated with their high birth, look down with great contempt on the other claſſes, who dare not ſpeak to them but at a diſtance; and cannot under pain of puniſhment form any alliances with them by marriage. In no place do the women poſſeſs ſo much authority: they are abſolute miſtreſſes. If one of them complains of her huſband, all the reſt aſſemble; aſſume the arms of the men; go and ravage the lands of the intractable ſpouſe; plunder his furniture, and deſtroy his habitation. He is happy if he can himſelf eſcape from their hands. Thus, in a moment, a poor huſband is deprived of both wife and children; for the latter follow their mother, and without property. On account of this cuſtom, there are many young men who avoid marriage. They aſſociate with a certain number of young females, and live in common. Nothing has tended ſo much as this practice to thwart the labours of the miſſionaries, and to retard the progreſs they might have made among the natives.

Theſe iſlanders are not unacquainted with the moral principles of ſocial life. Quarrels, and ſtill more wars, are uncommon among them. The latter conſiſt chiefly in ſudden incurſions. They endure hunger ſeveral days to lie in wait for their enemy, that they may ruſh upon him by

ſurprize, and carry him off. They preſent offerings to the ſea by placing them in a canoe, which they abandon to the mercy of the waves. A certain kind of ſages among them, called *anitis*, practiſe medicine; and by the help of that ſcience ſupport a few religious ideas, ſuch as the dread of hell or the hope of paradiſe, according as their actions are good or bad, and a great fear of the devil, whoſe anger they endeavour to deprecate by gifts. The firſt man they ſay was formed of the earth of their iſland, which was converted into a ſtone. This ſtone happened to break; and the human race was produced from its fragments, which were diſperſed over the whole earth. Perſons long abſent from their native country have loſt the uſe of their original language; and no longer enjoy the happineſs of underſtanding theſe fortunate iſlanders, from whom they are deſcended.

The Marianne iſlands are not much valued by the Spaniards: and indeed, with the moſt beautiful climate, and the moſt fertile ſoil, they produce neither precious ſtones nor metals. But this country, conſidered as wretched, becauſe it is deſtitute of theſe imaginary treaſures, produces fruits and ſalutary herbs in abundance. They ought, therefore, to have made more efforts to civilize the natives, and to render them uſeful. The miſſionaries, it muſt be allowed,

took ſome pains, and do ſo ſtill; but theſe people entertain an inveterate hatred to the Spaniards, who at firſt, no doubt, abuſed their ſuperiority. They reproach theſe foreigners with being the cauſe of the gnats by which they are tormented. And they aſſert, that before their arrival, they had neither the colic, rheumatiſm, nor other diſeaſes, which, even at preſent, are not tranſmitted. They accuſe them alſo of a criminal and perfidious ſtratagem, in having embarraſſed them with clothes. With ſuch prejudices it is not aſtoniſhing that theſe people ſhould have offered themſelves to the Engliſh and the Dutch; but theſe nations, to whom they could have been of no utility, ſuffered and ſtill ſuffer them to belong to Spain, which keeps them under its dominion for the benefit of its navigation.

The Carolines.

At the time when the Spaniards united their crown to that of Portugal, the Moluccas abſorbed all their attention, and prevented them from making other diſcoveries. By an accident, however, they became acquainted with another Archipelago, which they at firſt called the leſſer Philippines, and afterwards the Carolines in honour of Charles II. Some of the inhabitants of theſe iſles, after being toſſed about by a ſtorm, were driven to the Mariannes, where they landed. The account which theſe iſlanders gave of their country and manners induced the miſſionaries

to pay them a viſit. They found theſe iſlands equally fertile and agreeable, and as well peopled as the Mariannes; for they contained above eighty thouſand inhabitants, in a high ſtate of civilization. They have no diſtinct notion of a Supreme Being; but believe in good and bad ſpirits, male and female. Their beneficent ſpirits are called *tahutup*: they preſent offerings to them; but none to the malignant.

In each iſland there are noble families, the chiefs of which are called *tamoles*. The government is ariſtocratic. All the iron found belongs to the *tamol*, who cauſes it to be converted into utenſils, which he lets for hire to thoſe who chooſe to labour. This forms his whole revenue. The *tamoles* of all the iſles aſſemble once a year to deliberate on public affairs. Their dignity impoſes on them the obligation of living a ſerious life, and obſerving an irreproachable conduct. In each village there is a ſchool for the boys, and another for the girls; they are under the direction of elderly perſons of both ſexes. The boys are taught agriculture. They excel in the art of cultivating flowers; of making family utenſils, nets and arms; in the conſtruction of barks, and in fiſhing: they are afterwards made acquainted with the principles of aſtronomy by means of a globe, as we are told by the miſſionaries; but this, no doubt,

has been only ſince they were admitted among them. The girls are inſtructed in the method of dreſſing fiſh, fruits, and pulſe, and of preparing thread from a certain plant, of which they make cloth. In moſt of theſe iſles the Spaniards have ſettlements, but they are few in number. For what reaſon ſhould they be deſirous of going thither? The land, like that of the Mariannes, is a curſed ſoil, which produces only the neceſſaries and comforts of life; but neither gold, ſilver, nor jewels. Accident alſo conducted the Spaniards to New Guinea, or the country of the *Papoos*, who are black, and have woolly hair like the negroes. There is found here, however, a race of white men called Albinos, who are almoſt blind in the day-time, but very quick-ſighted during the night.

Commerce of the Engliſh.

Some hiſtorians pretend that the Indies were not unknown to the Britons at a very early period; but it appears that their ideas of them, if they really had any, were exceedingly vague. They began to make very little impreſſion till the reign of queen Elizabeth. A Venetian galley, deeply laden, was driven on ſhore at the iſle of Wight. The ſight of the riches it contained excited a deſire of attempting to open a trade with Turkey, through which the merchandize of India was tranſported. The advantages ariſing from this Turkiſh trade to the eaſtern merchants, ſhewed that it might be rendered

ſtill more lucrative if it were carried on by a direct route. In order that no meaſures of prudence which ſeemed likely to enſure ſucceſs to this grand enterpriſe might be omitted, the queen ſent to explore the two routes already opened; that of the Cape of Good Hope by captain Stephens, in 1582, and that of the ſtrait of Magellan, in 1587. From the reports which they made it was conceived impoſſible for England to appropriate to itſelf, by means of ſingle ſhips, a part of that commerce, to the prejudice of two nations, jealous and well eſtabliſhed; and that, while it employed all the exertions of induſtry, it would be neceſſary alſo to ſhew a reſpectable force. Theſe conſiderations, highly judicious, gave riſe to the Eaſt-India company, which ſent out its firſt adventure with a capital of 74,000l. and four ſhips equipped from that ſum. In 1601 the company was eſtabliſhed under the auſpices of the ſtate, which granted it a charter of protection for a time limited.

Lancaſter, who commanded this ſquadron, behaved like a private merchant; entered into a treaty of commerce with the king of Achen; and found means to eſtabliſh a ſmall factory, but not without experiencing ſome marks of diſpleaſure from the Portugueſe. He took on board a conſiderable quantity of pepper and other ſpices. His ſucceſsful return encouraged the company to ſend out three ſhips under the command of

Henry Middleton. The latter, however, began to aſſume a higher tone than that of a plain merchant. He found the Dutch and Portugueſe engaged in war; not on their own account, as appeared, but as auxiliaries, the one of the king of Ternate, and the other of the king of Tidor. It ſeemed moſt advantageous to Middleton, at that period, to eſpouſe the part of the Portugueſe. The Dutch were incenſed, and threw impediments in his way, which, however, did not prevent him from returning with a very rich cargo; but the company ſent out another ſquadron under Edward Michael Bourne, who aſſumed with the Dutch that air of ſuperiority which his force authorized, and threatened open hoſtilities in caſe they interrupted the Engliſh commerce. To ſupport theſe threats, William Keeling arrived, in 1608, with a body of regular troops. The Dutch made no reſiſtance, and even applied to the Engliſh to defend them againſt the inhabitants of Banda; but after this ſervice they behaved with duplicity to their benefactors, and fettered their commerce: but Keeling found means to return with a very rich cargo, and what is remarkable, without the loſs of a ſingle man.

The great misfortune of the Engliſh company was, that it had no port. Its ſupply of proviſions depended on the caprice of the Indian nations, with whom they were obliged to treat

for the price of their merchandize, at the risk of being imposed on, as they had no place of safety to which they could retire in order to wait for the most favourable opportunities. It depended also on the consent of two European nations, who, it is well known, beheld the success of the English with an eye of malevolence. The company, for want of a port, endeavoured at least to establish factories. It began then, if I may use the expression, to raise itself by its own wings. Hitherto it had purchased its ships from the Hanse-towns; but it now built for itself. Its first attempt in naval architecture was the Trade's Success, of twelve hundred tons, the largest and finest vessel which had ever been constructed in England. It sailed in 1610, under the command of Sir Henry Middleton. Under him at Mocha and Surat; under Hippon, at Bantam; under Saris, who obtained liberty to trade to Japan; and under Thomas Best, who with four ships defeated the whole of the Portuguese forces; the glory of the English arms was diffused over all Asia, and facilitated the establishment of factories for its Indian commerce. In 1616 the company had more than twenty-two of these small settlements, and its trade extended from the Red Sea even as far as Japan. It was in high esteem, above all, by the bravery of its captains, at the court of the great mogul. It sent thither ambassadors, who were well re-

ceived; and, under this protection, it eſtabliſhed its principal factory at Surat, a town dependent on the mogul empire.

For want of ports it continued its trade in a very precarious, though advantageous manner, obliged to yield to circumſtances inſtead of commanding them. It perceived clearly by the indirect proceedings of the Dutch, that they were dangerous enemies; yet it aſſiſted them againſt the Portugueſe, whom it conſidered to be ſtill more formidable: but the remiſſneſs of the Engliſh government under Charles I. made the Dutch reſolve to get entirely rid of theſe competitors in the ſpice iſlands, which they wiſhed to appropriate excluſively to themſelves. They accuſed the Engliſh factors at Amboyna of a plot to obtain poſſeſſion of the Dutch fort. Had this plan even been real, it did not authorize them to ſubject to the moſt horrid tortures theſe unhappy wretches, in order to extort from them a confeſſion which they never would make. They were, however, put to death in 1623; and the Engliſh were irrevocably expelled from theſe iſlands. The company, participating in the fate of the kingdom, agitated by troubles, ſaw its commerce, if not ruined, at leaſt falling into decline, and was not able to obtain redreſs; but Cromwell cauſed juſtice to be done, if the impoſition of fines in behalf of the families of the unfortunate perſons who had been maſſacred,

can be conſidered as a ſufficient puniſhment for ſo horrid a crime.

But the proſperity of the company depended on the poſſeſſion of a port, and a fortunate incident procured them the fineſt and ſafeſt on the coaſt of Malabar. Charles II. when he aſcended the throne, granted to the company, which Cromwell had aſſiſted, every advantage it could deſire. By a patent, in 1661, he confirmed its excluſive privilege, and authorized it to permit private merchants to trade from one port of the Indies to another. He gave it power, civil and military, in its ſettlements, and the right of peace and war in regard to the infidel nations of India; but with this proviſo, that if its charter were found prejudicial to the nation it ſhould be annulled, giving three years' previous notice. Charles II. at length procured it an advantage no leſs conſiderable by his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal. By the repeated ſolicitation of the company, he cauſed the iſland of Bombay, a barren and unwholeſome ſpot, but of great importance on account of its ſituation and excellent harbour, to be given to him as a dowry. The Engliſh were no ſooner in poſſeſſion of it than they built a fortreſs; and they inſenſibly extended themſelves in force along the whole coaſt.

While the affairs of the company were thus proſperous abroad, it experienced ſome agitation at home. The merchants of London, and

other commercial cities, diſpleaſed with the privilege which excluded them from the India trade, or admitted them to take only a ſubordinate part, formed an aſſociation, and offered to government terms more advantageous than thoſe of the exiſting company, in order that they might be ſubſtituted in its ſtead. The debates on this ſubject continued for ſeveral years, and the reſult was the incorporation of the competitors with the old company, and the eſtabliſhment of a new one, which began to act in the year 1704. It took every care to give to its operations the neceſſary vigour and ſecrecy. To enſure the latter, ſevere puniſhment was denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould lay open the affairs of the company; and it was forbidden, under like penalties, to ſhew any favour to foreigners in regard to the commerce of the Indies. This trade, therefore, was carried on with the greateſt ſucceſs, if we except a few trifling checks occaſioned by quarrels with the Indian nations, who did not always bear the yoke with that patience which the Engliſh wiſhed.

After a pretty long continuance of good underſtanding with the French Eaſt-India company, which, ſince 1720, had been in a flouriſhing condition, the Engliſh, unſucceſsful in Europe, reſolved to diſturb the French in India. The French company, the centre of whoſe trade

was, at that time, Pondicherry, foreſeeing this plan, propoſed a neutrality in the Indies; but the Engliſh refuſed to agree to it, and in 1745 ſent out a ſquadron to intercept the homeward-bound ſhips. They took three of them richly laden. The French had not been ſo ſanguine in their hopes of a neutrality, as to neglect providing a force ſufficient to make them be reſpected in caſe of a rupture. They were commanded by the brave Labourdonnais; and, at the ſame time, the government of Pondicherry was in the hands of Dupleix, a profound politician. Had theſe two men acted with unanimity, the Engliſh would have been ruined on the coaſt of Coromandel, where they had a conſiderable ſettlement at Madras. Labourdonnais inveſted that city, and granted to the beſieged honourable terms, which Dupleix, as governor-general, refuſed to ratify. He took a pleaſure, if not in deſtroying, at leaſt in leſſening the value of the conqueſt of Labourdonnais, by carrying away whatever was beautiful in the city. The Engliſh procured a reinforcement, and in their turn laid ſiege to Pondicherry; but it withſtood their attack, as well as Madras, which remained in the hands of the French till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The two companies having engaged to ſupport the nabobs who were attached to them, continued in a ſtate of warfare under the title of auxiliaries. They afterwards attacked each

other openly, and on their own account. The ſucceſs of the Engliſh has been ſo great, that there is no European nation at preſent which carries on in India ſo extenſive a trade. They no longer appear as merchants, ſupported merely by their induſtry; but as warriors, conquerors, and ſovereigns, whoſe armies proudly traverſe the whole peninſula, and whoſe flag is borne triumphantly over every part of the ocean.

They are, however, modeſt at Mocha, where they have only a ſmall factory. This city is ſituated at the bottom of the Red Sea, on a large ſandy plain, deſtitute of water. It is pretty well fortified, and is the centre of the whole commerce of Arabia. The Engliſh are held in high eſtimation at this place, becauſe they bring hither large capitals; and, beſides coffee, carry away myrth, aloes, liquid ſtorax, white and yellow arſenic, gum-arabic, balm of gilead, and other drugs. But, notwithſtanding the credit which they enjoy, they are expoſed to the impoſition of the Arabs, the worſt mahometans in the world, becauſe they are the greateſt hypocrites. They call God to witneſs in the moſt ſolemn manner, and at the ſame time break their word. The judge will gravely declaim againſt corruption at the very moment when he ſtretches out his hand to receive a bribe.

Gambroon, or Bender Abaſſi, at the entrance of the Perſian Gulph, may be compared to

Mocha, on account of its want of water, exceſſive heat, and other inconveniences; but it is ſuperior in regard to the ſalubrity of the air. The thirſt of gain retains here a great many Perſians and Banians, who carry on the principal part of the trade, and a ſmall Engliſh factory, the merchants of which derive their chief gain from the freight of merchandize; becauſe the merchants of the country being bad navigators, are glad to employ the Engliſh veſſels. The company ſhares the profits of the cuſtom-houſe with the king of Perſia. Bender Abaſſi has aſſumed the place of Ormus; but in a very inferior manner.

The Engliſh, after being admitted and to- Su
lerated, have become ſovereigns of Surat, though a governor ſtill reſides there in the name of the mogul: they however poſſeſs the citadel. This city is extremely populous. A great diverſity of religion prevails among the inhabitants; but the greater part are mahometans of the ſect of Ali. Thoſe who profeſs mahometaniſm are called Moors. People, called *Muſey*, believe in the Old Teſtament as well as the Koran, and entertain equal reſpect for the law of Moſes, and that of Mahomet. The molaks are reproached with the ſame irregularity as that aſcribed to the ancient gnoſtics. The women, mothers and daughters, married or unmarried, each provide themſelves with a handkerchief, which they

give to the man whom they meet under cover of the night, that they may know him again in the day-time. The great mogul, Aureng Zeb, proſcribed this religious rite under pain of capital puniſhment; but it is ſtill practiſed notwithſtanding his prohibition. There are found at Surat, Hindoos followers of Fo and Parſis, worſhippers of fire; a great many Arabs, Jews, and Armenians, who, with the Banians, carry on the principal trade. Surat is a general magazine for the moſt valuable productions of the coaſts of Africa, Malabar, Perſia, and Hindoſtan. The artiſans are exceedingly ingenious. The Engliſh here live in great ſplendor, which they ſay is neceſſary for an European governor in the Eaſt, in order to maintain his credit and reputation.

Some of the other Engliſh ſettlements preſent ſingularities both natural and artificial It is ſaid that the ſpiders at Bombay are as large as walnuts, and the toads of the ſize of a ſmall duck. Baroche, ſituated on a mountain, is well fortified. Corwar and Tellichery produce cardamoms and pepper. The muſlins of theſe places are in high eſtimation. Fort St. David, which was ſold to the company by a Mahratta prince, has given ſhelter to a great number of weavers, who manufacture brown, white, blue, and other coloured cotton-ſtuffs, known under the names of ſalempouris, moorees, ginghams,

ſuccatoris, &c. which form the baſis of the trade of St. George, or Madras. Few cities are ſo unfavourably ſituated as the latter; for it ſtands on a dry plain, deſtitute of freſh water; and is in continual danger of being over-whelmed by a ſtormy ſea, or by a brackiſh river, which is ſometimes ſo ſwelled up that it flows cloſe under the walls. The black-town is inhabited by the pagans, mahometans, and native chriſtians. The white-town is deſtined for the Engliſh alone. Both theſe towns, which on account of their proximity form only one, are extremely populous. The inhabitants are eſtimated at eighty thouſand. Every pleaſure and luxury that opulence can procure is found in this ſettlement. It is the ſeat of the power of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, and the reſidence of the governor and council. The governor has the attendance, the authority, and the honours of a monarch. There is no port but an open road, dangerous and inſecure. The eſtabliſhments of the company in Bengal, which were at firſt only factories, have become ſovereignties. The natives here pay tribute to the company. The revenues thence ariſing defray a great part of its mercantile expenſes; and its profit is by theſe means immenſe, except in the time of war.

The iſland of St. Helena, which lies almoſt oppoſite to the Cape of Good Hope, at the St. Helena.

diſtance of about ſix hundred leagues, is the place at which the Engliſh ſhips generally touch on their paſſage home from India. It is almoſt half way between America and Africa, and has been claſſed with that part of the world, becauſe it is nearer to it than to the other. If we can believe ſeamen, who have touched here, it is a moſt delightful abode; but, indeed, to them it muſt appear ſo after a paſſage which, though eaſy, on account of the conſtancy of the winds blowing towards that quarter, is however attended with ſome diſagreeable circumſtances. The iſland is only ſeven leagues in circumference. This ſmall ſpot contains cultivated land, meadows, and woods, together with a ſpring which forms a rivulet; in a word, nature here appears always ſmiling, and always with the freſhneſs of youth. The inhabitants have a peculiar complexion, which is fair, and remarkably ruddy. They enjoy good health, and attain to a great age, owing to the effects of a climate the heat of which is moderated by the eaſt winds, and to their temperance and ſobriety; for they never indulge in any irregularity except for a few days during the ſtay of the Eaſt-India ſhips. It appears that on theſe occaſions they tranſgreſs their uſual boundaries, in order to entertain their gueſts. The females alſo throw aſide a little of their ſeverity, to oblige their countrymen, who come to viſit them from ſuch a diſtance. "But the ladies of

" St. Helena," ſay ſome authors, " do not re-
" ſemble our ladies of gallantry in Europe.
" They are not intereſted like our faſhionable
" females. They ſeem to participate in the
" pleaſure they communicate, without any view
" of intereſt; which, in ſome meaſure, makes
" up for the loſs ſuſtained by the honour of
" the ſex."

When the ſovereignty of Portugal was tranſ- Commc. of the Dutch.
ferred to the crown of Spain, under Philip II. the Flemiſh ſubjects of that prince were favoured, on account of the ſale which they procured in the north for the merchandize of India: and it was this circumſtance which brought ſuch prodigious wealth to the people of Bruges and Ghent; made Antwerp the greateſt trading city in Europe; enabled its citizens to live in palaces, and filled its port with ſuch an immenſe number of ſhips, that we are aſſured that four hundred have been ſeen there at anchor at once. Theſe riches made the inhabitants difficult to be governed; and the Spaniſh council imagined that, to render them pliable, it would be neceſſary to impoveriſh them. Beſides ſubjecting them to reſtraint in regard to religion, it fettered their commerce. The richeſt merchants, and the moſt induſtrious manufacturers, oppreſſed in their property and deprived of liberty of conſcience, retired to the Seven United Provinces, which had ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, and

were received there with open arms. As they had been accuſtomed, by their former connection with Portugal, to deal in Indian merchandize, they wiſhed to continue the ſame traffick; but the wretched policy of Spain, having ſhut the ports of that country againſt them, they reſolved to go directly to the ſource of theſe riches, as the channels through which they had received them were now entirely cloſed.

As all theſe merchants were acquainted with each other, the aſſociations for this trade were ſoon formed. They were eſtabliſhed in different cities of Holland and Zealand, under the name of chambers of commerce, the moſt important of which was at Amſterdam. They all ſet out on the ſame principle, that as they intended to ſhare in, or rather appropriate to themſelves the profits of their former maſters, they ought not to depend merely on mercantile talents; but that it would be neceſſary to arm, as they might meet with reſiſtance. Their firſt ſhips, therefore, ſet out in 1594, as if for a military expedition. Theſe were ſoon followed by other veſſels, which went all in fleets, ſome by the Cape of Good Hope, and others by the Strait of Magellan, ſo that the Spaniſh and Portugueſe ſettlements were attacked, at the ſame time, on all ſides. In the courſe of ſix years the Dutch found themſelves in great favour in India with the kings of the country; and by means of forts

which they conſtructed, almoſt in every place where they obtained a footing, they were as firmly eſtabliſhed in the moſt valuable parts as their ancient maſters.

But this zeal and ardour, which had induced them to build and ſend out in rapid ſucceſſion ſo many veſſels, and which had been ſo uſeful to the ſudden propagation of commerce, were rendered uſeleſs, becauſe individuals and the chambers, not being intimately connected, could not agree either in reſpect to the quality or the quantity of the goods to be exported, nor on the price which in India they ſhould ſet upon the ſpices, and other articles imported. It often happened that ſeveral veſſels carried out the ſame merchandize; and on ſuch occaſions it was neceſſary to lower the price in India, in order that it might find a ready ſale. On the other hand, the ſhips, anxious to take in their cargoes that they might avoid the competition of thoſe which followed them, preferred paying a little dearer to get done the ſooner; and thus the trade, without being diſadvantageous, did not procure thoſe benefits which might have been expected. To remedy this inconvenience, all the chambers were formed into one company, which alone had the right of trading to the Indies. It began its adventures in 1602, and followed the method employed by the firſt merchants of ſending out ſpeedily fleet after

fleet, to aſtoniſh, as we may ſay, the Spaniards and Portugueſe, their rivals, by the ſudden appearance of forces reviving without end. It is ſuppoſed that the Dutch Eaſt-India company, at the very moment of its birth, had concerted a plan for expelling all the Europeans from the ſpice iſlands, and of appropriating their trade excluſively to itſelf. In this it indeed ſucceeded, without ſhewing, as we have ſeen by what happened at Amboyna, much delicacy in regard to the means.

The company, before the expiration of the privilege granted by the States for twenty-one years, found itſelf miſtreſs of an empire the extent of which it had not been able to foreſee. It fixed its throne, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, in the iſland of Java, where general Coen built Batavia, which has become the moſt ſuperb city of the Indies. The Dutch, notwithſtanding their ſimplicity in Europe, endeavoured to give this new capital an air of magnificence and grandeur, that ſhould render it a ſucceſsful rival to Goa, which they wiſhed to efface, in order that they might ſecure the reſpect of the Indians, who were readily caught by appearances. The court of the commandant-general is, therefore, like that of a real monarch. Few kings, indeed, have ſo extenſive authority. Orders are diſpatched from Batavia to every part of the Indies, where there are ſubaltern

governors who command provinces; and as far as Japan, where the Dutch have had the addreſs to preſerve the liberty of trade, while it is interdicted to all the reſt of the world. They acquired this privilege by perſuading the Japaneſe, not only that their religion is different from that of the Portugueſe, but even that they are not chriſtians. They give a proof of it by ſubmitting, in the ſmall iſland where they are immured for the purpoſe of carrying on their trade with Japan, to obey the order iſſued every year to the Japaneſe to tread upon a crucifix in the preſence of the magiſtrates.

The thirſt of gain, inherent in commerce, and particularly maritime commerce, effaces ſometimes not only the principles of religion, but thoſe alſo of humanity and the rights of nations. The maſſacre of Amboyna, which excluded for ever from the ſpice trade the Engliſh, the only rivals whom the Dutch had to dread, has been mentioned already. The ſame ſyſtem of ſacrificing every thing to intereſt rendered them implacable enemies to their competitors, cruel to their priſoners, unfaithful to their allies, and pitileſs towards ſhipwrecked mariners, who in their ſettlements might have acquired information which they conſidered as dangerous. The taking poſſeſſion of the iſland of Ceylon, where the cinnamon grows, the only territory wanting to the Dutch to make them maſters of the fineſt

ſpices, was accompanied with ſome of thoſe arts of political cunning which commerce on a grand ſcale thinks ſometimes not incompatible with honeſty.

This iſland, ſituated at the extremity of the peninſula of India, is inhabited by a people called Chingulays, whoſe origin is unknown. They are tall, black, and well made; poſſeſs great bravery, and are fond of agriculture. The women are not deſtitute of charms. The moſt common religion is the muſſulman; and their king, who, in imitation of thoſe of India, aſſumes the title of Raja, profeſſes to be a follower of Mahomet. His capital, named Candy, is ſituated in the middle of the iſland, towards which the land forms a gradual aſcent. The Portugueſe had poſſeſſion of the coaſts, but this gave no uneaſineſs to the king, as it was of little importance to him with whom his ſubjects carried on trade, and to whom they ſold their cinnamon. He lived on friendly terms with them till an imperious governor occaſioned ſome diſagreement. He then carried his complaints to Goa; but no attention being paid to them, he took up arms to bring the inſolent Portugueſe to reaſon. Having, however, learned that their countrymen were preparing to aſſiſt them, he called in the Dutch; engaged to pay them the expences of the war, to cede to them a piece of ground for building a factory, and to give them an excluſive right to

trade with his ſubjects. The Dutch entered into an obligation to furniſh a certain number of troops, and to reſign to the king all the Portugueſe forts, as ſoon as they were taken, in order that they might be demoliſhed.

The war was ſucceſsful on the part of the allies, who expelled the Portugueſe; but when the Dutch were deſired to reſtore to the king of Candy the laſt important place they had taken, named Colombo, they declared they were reſolved to keep it as a ſecurity for the ſums which he owed them. Even the Dutch hiſtorians acknowledge that their countrymen during the courſe of the war, which they purpoſely prolonged, ſuffered theſe ſums to accumulate, well knowing, that as the king, when hoſtilities were ended, would not be able to pay them, they ſhould then have a pretext for not reſtoring what was in their hands. This conduct is ſimilar, but on a larger ſcale, to that of thoſe who ſupply money to a perſon to carry on a law ſuit, in order that they may afterwards acquire a right to his property. The juſtice of both caſes is the ſame. As ſuch conduct is far from being praiſe-worthy in an individual, one might think that it would not be approved among princes; but without approving it, they employ it when it ſuits their advantage. The Dutch have extended their territories in the iſland, and have poſſeſſion of the whole coaſt. The Chin-

gulays ſeem to take no umbrage, and call them the protectors of their coaſts: but they do not protect them for nothing. The whole trade paſſes through their hands. That carried on with precious ſtones, rubies, white and blue ſapphires, topazes, and other kinds, is conſiderable. The elephants are the beſt in all Aſia; and the Chingulays have a wonderful dexterity in taming them. The Dutch entertain great reſpect for the king; and every year the company ſends an ambaſſador to him with preſents. The king in return gives a caſket of jewels of ſuch immenſe value, that the veſſel on board which it is put is ſaid to be worth at leaſt one half of the homeward-bound fleet. So much precaution is employed to conceal it from the crew, that the captain of the veſſel does not know whether it be on board. It is packed up privately by the governor, together with other merchandize.

The excluſive trade in ſpices, and that with Japan, were not ſufficient to gratify the ambition of the company. They made attempts alſo at China; but their propoſals were rejected. This kind of diſdain gave offence to the haughty Hollanders. The maſſacre of ſeveral thouſands of Chineſe at Batavia, under pretence of their being concerned in a conſpiracy, is aſcribed to revenge for their diſappointment. It does not, however, appear certain that theſe Chineſe were entirely innocent. Several kings were

obliged to bend under their deſpotic authority. That of Macaſſar, in the iſland of Celebes, notwithſtanding the deſperate bravery of his ſubjects, ſaw his kingdom become a province of the Dutch. In Java, the ſeat of their empire—but where they reckon, if we can credit them, thirty thouſand ſouls who are independent—they excited the ſon againſt the father. The latter, who was their victim, died in irons. The king of Bantam was not more fortunate. They intermeddled alſo in the affairs of Bengal after their uſual manner, that is, by giving laws. In ſhort, to omit a thouſand other acts, which the avarice of commerce authorizes and ſtrict equity condemns, they proceeded ſo far as to compel nature to be ſubſervient to their policy, by forbidding her, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, to produce cloves but in Amboyna; or nutmegs but in Banda, of both which they were maſters. In the other iſlands they cauſed them to be tore up by the roots. Thus Ceylon produces its cinnamon, Amboyna its cloves, and Banda its nutmegs, merely to enrich the jealous Hollanders, to the great detriment of other nations whom they thus render tributary.

During the long ſeries of proſperity which the company enjoyed, it experienced no very remarkable reverſe except the loſs of Formoſa. This iſland gave it great advantages in regard to the trade with China. The Dutch for a

long time diſputed the poſſeſſion of it with the Chineſe, who at length took it, and ſtill retain it; but the Dutch did not loſe every thing, as they have had a factory there ever ſince. During the wars of France in Europe, they took Pondicherry. This city in their hands was embelliſhed and fortified; but, what ſeldom happens, entirely at their expence, and they reſtored it on the concluſion of peace. When it is conſidered how many evils avarice has entailed on theſe countries, which nature by the profuſion of her gifts deſtined for happineſs; with how many wrecks thoſe ſeas, interſperſed with verdant iſles, have been covered; and with how much blood thoſe odoriferous ſhrubs, the fruit and bark of which ſtimulate our appetite, has been beſprinkled; we might be tempted to curſe commerce, the cauſe of all theſe misfortunes. We muſt not, however, render one nation more criminal than another; or believe that one has been impelled more than another to oppreſſion and peculation by a peculiar character of ferocity. Maritime and trading nations are all the ſame; the dangers they encounter on the watry element, and the reſiſtance they experience before they obtain the object they ſeek for, at the hazard of their life, render them obdurate and incapable of feeling. To this may be added that the crews of ſhips, in general, are compoſed of the dregs of nations,

whom their chiefs, to induce them to enter into their ſervice, have flattered with the hopes of certain and ſpeedy gain. After theſe reflexions, it need excite no ſurprize that they abandon themſelves with madneſs to every kind of exceſs by which they can obtain riches. Had we as minute details of the commercial tranſactions of the Argonauts, the Phenicians, the Carthaginians, and the Tyrians, as we have of our own, we ſhould find the ſame ſcenes of violence and injuſtice. Maritime commerce is at firſt humble and ſubmiſſive—gives way to circumſtances and inſinuates itſelf into favour; it afterwards commands and compels: ſuch is, and always will be, its progreſs. Seldom does it prove uſeful to thoſe who go in ſearch of it; and never does it render them happier. This much may be ſaid in excuſe for the Dutch; though I muſt at the ſame time confeſs, that no nation has committed in India more cruelties and more acts of injuſtice with greater coolneſs and indifference.

Whatever they did was the reſult of reflexion and ſyſtem. It was by this ſure and deliberate mode of proceeding that they were able to unite under their hands, and in one ſpot, the whole treaſure of the ſpices, which nature had diſtributed in different places. We have ſeen that they confined the cinnamon-tree to Ceylon; the clove-tree, which grew in all the Moluccas,

they tranſplanted to Amboyna, and immured it within the boundaries of that iſland. They allow the nutmeg-tree to propagate in the iſles of Banda; but they are ſtrictly guarded by ſtrong garriſons and by veſſels, which hovering continually around them prevent all other nations from collecting their fruit. Theſe unwholeſome iſles, ſo well guarded, are, if I may uſe the expreſſion, the ſink of Holland. It ſends thither its malefactors whom the government does not chooſe to puniſh by immediate death. They are a place of correction alſo for young libertines, whoſe reformation is not entirely deſpaired of. Theſe exiles are enrolled among the company's troops; but nothing can be more diſmal than their fate in the iſles of Banda. They are confined to wretched bread, made of the juice of a tree which grows in that country; and are obliged for the reſt of their proviſions to eat dogs, cats, and other animals that may fall into their hands; happy if they can catch a few fiſh, which on theſe coaſts are not of the beſt ſort, or ſecure a few tortoiſes, by turning them on their backs on the ſand; but theſe they find only during ſix months in the year. The ſtrongeſt of theſe garriſons is in the iſland of Celebes, inhabited by the Macaſſars. It was not without great difficulty that the Dutch ſubdued theſe warlike and obſtinate people. They cannot even keep them in ſubjection, but by fo-

menting quarrels between their petty kings, and ſupporting the one againſt the other.

It is here to be obſerved, that nature, more powerful than the art of the Dutch, often conveys back the nutmeg-tree to its native country. Certain birds, which have been called the gardeners of aromantic plants, ſwallow whole nutmegs, return them by the uſual paſſage, and replant them, as we may ſay, in the Moluccas, where they have been extirpated by the Dutch. When they found it neceſſary that this tree ſhould multiply, they forbade theſe birds to be killed under pain of death; at preſent, they beſtow a reward on every perſon who brings one of their heads: but theſe precautions do not prevent the nutmeg-tree from appearing in places from which they wiſhed to proſcribe it. Certain people are appointed to ſearch for it, and to tear it up wherever they find it.

For the ſame reaſon that the iſland of St. Helena, though belonging to Africa rather than Aſia, has been placed among the number of the Engliſh Aſiatic poſſeſſions, I ſhall place among thoſe of the Dutch Eaſt India company the Cape of Good Hope, which is ſituated exactly at the ſouthern extremity of Africa. We find with pleaſure that this colony, the moſt agreeable and the moſt flouriſhing, perhaps, which the Dutch have, was obtained without either cruelty or injuſtice. Van Riebeck, whoſe

name is worthy of being preſerved, ſurgeon of one of the company's ſhips, having touched at the Cape, was ſtruck with the extent of the bay, capable of containing more than a hundred veſſels; its ſituation, half way between Europe and India; and the nature of the ſoil, which ſeemed proper for every kind of cultivation. From his own obſervations he formed the plan of a ſettlement; matured his ideas during the courſe of the voyage; and, on his return, preſented it to the company. His plan was approved, and he received full power to carry it into execution. He ſet out with four veſſels, having on board every thing neceſſary for an infant colony. Van Riebeck reſolved to make juſtice the foundation of his proceedings. He purchaſed, therefore, from the inhabitants the country where he wiſhed to form an eſtabliſhment; gave them merchandize, to be ſelected at their own choice, to the value of fifty thouſand florins; and did not oblige them to retire to a great diſtance. When they choſe to be induſtrious, he paid them for their labour; when ſick, he aſſiſted them. In a word, he fulfilled all his engagements with the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity; and by theſe means inſpired the Hottentots with a confidence in the Dutch, which ſtill continues.

This colony has become, as it were, the foſtermother not only of the Dutch, who touch there in

going to and returning from the Indies, but alſo of other nations. They find there every thing to ſupply their wants, and in particular abundance of refreſhments. The fruits of every climate have been naturalized in this happy country; and its immenſe magazines are filled with proviſions of all kinds. The Dutch have applied to the breeding and rearing of cattle. Their ſettlements extend as far as three hundred leagues up the country, from which they bring down, on the arrival of the ſhips, numerous herds. They live in a ſtate of perfect friendſhip with the Hottentots, who never rob them, though theſe ſavages are in a ſtate of continual warfare with each other. The ſpirit of the worthy Van Riebeck ſeems ſtill to breathe among theſe happy planters. In general, they enjoy good health. It is diſplayed in their countenances, by that cheerful and ſerene air with which they are animated. The complexions of the Dutch fair are enlivened here with a ruddineſs which is commonly denied to them in Europe. Vines have been planted at the Cape with ſucceſs; and the Conſtantia wine is honoured with a rank among the moſt delicate kinds. There is a colony here of French refugees; and this is the only country perhaps in the world where they feel the leaſt regret for the loſs of their own.

Malacca may be compared to the Cape. If

the latter is the link which connects Europe and Aſia, Malacca is the key of the commerce between the peninſula of India, the kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, and the adjacent iſlands as far as China and Japan. The Dutch made a conqueſt of it from the Portugueſe by the treachery of the governor. They had laid ſiege to the fortreſs, and began to deſpair of taking it, when the avarice of the commander threw open the gates. They promiſed him eighty thouſand crowns. On this offer the governor gave them free admiſſion. They ruſhed into the place, inſtantly maſſacred every perſon whom they found under arms, and proceeded ſtraight to the houſe of the traitor, who believed himſelf in ſafety; they, however, diſpatched him to ſave their eighty thouſand crowns.

Beſides the territories of which the company is ſole maſter, there is no place in India where it has not factories, or at leaſt commercial intercourſe. It every-where ſhares in the trade of others, and ſuffers others to participate as little as poſſible in its own. It is aſtoniſhing what efforts it has made to appropriate to itſelf alone the purchaſe and ſale of pepper; but this berry is the production of too many countries. It, however, endeavours to ſecure the beſt by treaties with the ſovereigns where it abounds. When it finds itſelf ſtronger it compels them; when weak, it induces them by the payment of

a ſtipulated ſum to prevent their ſubjects from ſelling their pepper to others: in a word, there is no cunning, no addreſs, no violence, and no induſtry, which the ſubtle Dutchman does not employ to accompliſh his ends. One might be induced to believe that he has no character but what is formed by circumſtances. We may ſay, intereſt is his god; and he proves it at Japan.

Who is the man—who goes, as we may ſay, to expoſe himſelf voluntarily to inſult? Who ſuffers himſelf to be received with contemptuous ſuſpicion? Who allows himſelf to be confined and immured—to be conſtrained in his actions, his words, and even his religious opinions? It is the Dutchman at Japan. As ſoon as his ſhips appear, the governor of Nangazaki diſpatches ſeveral boats filled with ſoldiers, who immediately ſurround them and carry away the cannon, the gunpowder, and all the arms, together with the rudder, ſails, cables, and ſpare anchors. The crew are ſhut up in a ſmall iſland called Dezima, where they are examined each in ſucceſſion, and compared with the deſcription of their perſons, while the merchandize is unpacked; and if there be the ſmalleſt error in the invoice—if there be found an image or even a book which has the leaſt relation to the chriſtian religion, it becomes an affair of ſtate, and muſt be communicated to the governor of the town; often to the governor of the

province, and ſometimes even to the emperor. The trade is under great reſtraint; the prices of the different articles ſold muſt not exceed a certain ſum; all merchandize which goes beyond it muſt be ſtored up and kept till another year. The Dutch who remain to take care of this ſurplus muſt the year following re-embark; and their place is ſupplied by new comers, who, like their predeceſſors, ſubmit to be kept in a ſtate of civil impriſonment for a whole year in a ſmall parched iſland, guarded day and night, and obliged, in the ſame manner as the Japaneſe, to perform what is called the *Jeſuma*, that is, to tread under foot and ſpit upon the croſs, when the time appointed for this general obligation arrives.

One might believe that ſome pleaſure would be enjoyed by the director and three or four Dutchmen, choſen by himſelf, with whom he traverſes the kingdom to pay his reſpects to the emperor, and deliver the preſents ſent to him by the company; but, under the pretence of honour, he is really treated like a priſoner during the whole journey. The tranſactions of each day are previouſly regulated, and nothing can derange them but a ſevere indiſpoſition, or ſome other inſurmountable obſtacle. He is not allowed to ſpeak to any one; to pay any viſits, or to view public monuments or objects ever ſo little diſtant, which may excite his curioſity.

No liberty is left to him except that of looking at whatever is immediately around him; but if he deſires information reſpecting any thing he ſees he receives no ſatisfaction. When the Japaneſe are aſked the reaſon of this reſerve, and, above all, of the rigour which they exerciſe among themſelves for the leaſt infraction of their laws, they make the following ſage reply: "We know the "advantages of the government we have eſta- "bliſhed, and we are unwilling to run the riſk "of a change by introducing among us your "cuſtoms, which may be ſuited to your charac- "ter, and which we do not condemn. Great "revolutions are effected inſenſibly and by de- "grees. The deſire of innovation can be cured "only by continued precaution, and the rod of "puniſhment."

It would appear as if this maxim had been the foundation of the laws and regulations which the company have eſtabliſhed for their ſervants in India. To begin with the governor-general: though his power is very extenſive, he is ſubjected to certain ſtrict forms of etiquette which are a continual burthen. The ſupreme council may preſent to him very ſevere remonſtrances; may even put him under an arreſt and bring him to trial. Thus, with all his power, his ſituation differs very little from that of the doge of Venice, whoſe hands are tied though he is ſurrounded with honours. It muſt, however, be confeſſed,

that the great merit of almoſt all theſe governors, who are never raiſed to that office but by election, and in conſequence of ſignal ſervices, frees them in general from being ſubjected to ſervile rules; and the company, for the moſt part, has found its advantage in granting them that indulgence. In the ſame manner as the chief, all the ſubalterns, from the director-general, who is next in rank to the governor, down to the meaneſt lackey of the company, are obliged to conform to certain regulations, from which they are never ſuffered to depart. Command is galling: to the French ſubordination would appear ſervile. As the laws are well known, no excuſe is admitted. "It is to the care which the com-"pany has taken in this reſpect," ſay certain authors; "to its wiſdom in regulating trifling "matters; to its great ſtrictneſs, which ſome "call exceſſive ſeverity; and to its vigilance in "maintaining the good order eſtabliſhed with "ſo much prudence; that we muſt aſcribe the "ſtability of its power, and the happy ſucceſs "of its deſigns."

Commerce of the Danes.

The Danes, celebrated as mariners, reduced under their power the Britiſh iſles, invaded France through the mouths of its rivers, and founded the duchy of Normandy. They penetrated to the Mediterranean ſea, and made their name known from the coaſts of Naples to thoſe of Aſia. It could be only from Aſia or Africa

that they borrowed the idea of the white elephant, which is the badge of the military order of Denmark. This country, at preſent ſo confined, gave laws to the whole north. Sweden and Norway were ſubject to it. At that period this kingdom, contented with the dominion of its power and its arms, paid very little attention to that of commerce. Emulation in this reſpect was not awakened till the year 1612, when an Eaſt-India company was formed under Chriſtian IV. Being able to proceed only with a timid ſtep in the traces of the Portugueſe, the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the Engliſh, already eſtabliſhed and powerful, this company made a feeble and ſlow progreſs. By conſtancy and perſeverance it however effected an opening for itſelf on the coaſt of Coromandel, in the kingdom of Tanjaur, where it built the city of Franquebar, its only ſettlement, a few ſmall factories excepted. It behaved with mildneſs and humanity in theſe countries accuſtomed to experience the injuſtice of the Europeans. The Daniſh company purchaſed its territories, and pays for them annually a certain acknowledgement.

Notwithſtanding the pacific character of the Danes, they were expoſed to vexatious acts of oppreſſion from the raja of Tanjaur, who firſt gave them ſhelter. This prince poſſeſſes a diſmembered part of the great empire of Biſnagar, the ſovereign of which aſſumed the lofty and

whimſical titles of *king of kings*, and *huſband of the thouſand wives*. That of Tanjaur, accuſtomed to invaſion, attempted ſeveral times to take back what he had ceded, and was always repulſed; but the commerce of the company, badly ſupported from Europe, fell and roſe, yet was never in a flouriſhing condition if compared with the reſt. It employs about two ſhips, which go and return, but not regularly. The kings of Denmark imagined they ſhould be able to derive from this ſettlement a profit much more uſeful in the eye of reaſon than in that of commerce: to civilize the ſurrounding natives. They ſent thither miſſionaries, who had very little ſucceſs with the mahometans, but who have made conſiderable progreſs among the pagans. Theſe apoſtolic labourers are highly reſpected in this part of the coaſt of Coromandel, where they have propagated their religion. They have alſo made known many things of which we were before ignorant, reſpecting the manners and cuſtoms of the Indians who inhabit the extremity of the peninſula, becauſe they penetrated into the country and learned the Tamulic, which is the polite language, and that moſt common among the heathens. It is here to be remarked, that we are indebted to chriſtian miſſionaries, whatever may have been their religion, for our earlieſt and moſt uſeful information reſpecting diſtant nations.

Should it be aſked why the French, ſo active and ſo enterprizing, were ſo ſlow and unſucceſsful in regard to the commerce of India, it may be replied, that it was owing to the abundance of their country, which is ſufficient for its own conſumption and for the purpoſes of barter; to the faults of its government, wavering and acceſſible to every project; and to the national character, fickle, inconſtant, and fond of change. In 1527, Francis I. invited his ſubjects to undertake diſtant voyages. He renewed his exhortations in 1543 and 1575; and aſſiſtance was offered to thoſe who ſhould go out on expeditions of diſcovery: no enterprize of note, however, took place. In 1604, Henry IV. eſtabliſhed a company; but it did not act: in 1611, it received encouragement and ſupport from Louis XIII. but they were attended with no effect. A new company was formed in 1615, and ſent out two ſhips in 1617, and three others in 1619; but ſo little advantage was derived from a voyage to the Indies, that it was thought prudent to confine itſelf to Madagaſcar. Commerce of the French.

Colbert, notwithſtanding the extent of his genius, adopted the ſame narrow views, no doubt becauſe he had no opportunity of doing better. It was neceſſary to give a ſtimulus to the nation. The pens of the moſt celebrated academicians were employed; and memoirs, which held forth the moſt inviting proſpects,

and foretold the greateſt ſucceſs, were diſtributed in profuſion. The ſhares were enſured by the ſanction of the parliament. The king made a ſpeech, and ſubſcribed 300,000 livres. Through policy or zeal the greater part of the nobility intereſted themſelves alſo, and their example was followed by the opulent. In 1665, four ſhips, well ſtored with every thing neceſſary to ſupply the colony with proviſions, and to improve it, ſailed for the iſland of Madagaſcar, which was now diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Iſle Dauphine*. In 1667, ſome veſſels were diſpatched from this ſettlement for Cochin. While on their paſſage the new ſettlers of Madagaſcar, finding themſelves in a pleaſant and fertile country, excellent for hunting and other diverſions, gave themſelves up entirely to theſe amuſements, without thinking of the company by whom they were paid and maintained. The company treated them as they deſerved, by requeſting the king to take back the iſland, in which few of theſe pretended merchants remained. The moſt uſeful of them were conveyed to Surat in 1670.

The company, inſtead of applying ſeriouſly to commerce, amuſed itſelf with ſelling its privilege to private ſhips which traded in its name. It imported from India, or cauſed to be manufactured in France and Swiſſerland, white cotton cloth, which it painted or printed itſelf. The beauty of the deſigns brought a temporary profit; but this

traffic, which eluded the payment of the duties, embroiled the company with the farmers-general: the latter, more neceſſary at the moment, becauſe they promoted the court loans, had the ſuperiority. The company, when juſt on the brink of deſtruction, was ſtopped, if I may uſe the expreſſion, on the edge of the precipice, by uniting itſelf to a China company in 1700; and in 1712, by an aſſociation of the merchants of St. Malo, who contributed to its ſupport in India.

While the company was ſupporting itſelf in Europe by deſperate meaſures—borrowing and paying, diſcounting and entering into new engagements—its ſervants were endeavouring to retrieve its finances in India.

A king of Viſapour, whom they had found means to gain over to their intereſt, ceded to them a ſmall diſtrict on the coaſt of Coromandel, where, in 1681, they built Pondicherry. This place, which had coſt them immenſe care and expenſe, was taken by the Dutch in 1693: in 1697 it was greatly improved in regard to its buildings, and much better fortified: in 1710 it contained ſixty thouſand inhabitants. It was indebted for its aggrandizement to a governor named Francis Martin, a man of genius and intelligence. He perſuaded the inhabitants to ſubmit to ſome burthens in order to enſure the proſperity of their city; and by a conduct which

diſplayed moderation and equity, removed the jealouſy of the natives.

As the French, at the time when they ſettled at Pondicherry, had no other power than what they obtained by their addreſs, they were prevented on that account from abandoning themſelves to their uſual vivacity, and from ſhewing the fainteſt trace of that contempt for the manners of foreign nations which renders them ſometimes inſupportable. They diſplayed the fair ſide only of their character—candour, politeneſs, and affability; they behaved with the greateſt reſpect towards the neighbouring kings and princes. This conduct procured them friends, from ſome of whom they received particular marks of eſteem. They often performed good offices to the Indians as well as the Europeans, lived on friendly terms with each other, and protected the natives againſt the incurſions of the plunderers and banditti by whom the highways had been before infeſted. By theſe different means they induced the Indians, a temperate, pacific, and induſtrious people, to ſettle in their territories, where they were certain of enjoying in peace the fruits of their labour. This ſyſtem, which they continued for more than fifty years, gained a high reputation to the French in India. The flouriſhing ſtate of Pondicherry cauſed the principal ſeat of commerce to be transferred thither in the beginning

of the preſent century, and Surat has remained a plain factory, ſtill important, but too much neglected.

No commercial company has experienced ſo many viciſſitudes as the French Eaſt-India company. After the death of Louis XIV. the regent, in order that he might employ it as an oſtenſible ſupport to his ſyſtem, united the Eaſt-India company to a Weſt-India company, which was announced to the public as an inexhauſtible treaſure. The edict of union gave to the aſſociation the lofty title of the *Perpetual India Company*. The privileges were declared to be perpetual and irrevocable: but as titles do not ſupply funds, the perpetual company found itſelf on the brink of ruin, when the exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom, a conſequence of the prevailing ſyſtem, prevented the government from affording it relief. The adventures and returns were irregular and uncertain; heavy debts were incurred in India; and the company was unable to take up its bills when they became due. Under the wiſe adminiſtration of cardinal Fleury, money was procured when it was no longer expected; this was a happy change, but viciſſitudes are always ruinous to commerce. The prudent miniſter ſupported, as long as he could, the tottering edifice; and it was with the utmoſt regret that he found himſelf obliged to withdraw that aſſiſtance which had prevented it from tumbling:

but the war of 1744 gave a fatal blow to the company, which did not recover after the loſſes it ſuſtained, and which were afterwards accumulated, notwithſtanding the efforts of its brave defenders. It however ſtill retains poſſeſſions capable of feeding the hopes of a warlike nation, which ought to conſider it as below its dignity to ſuffer itſelf to be diſcouraged by misfortunes.

The iſles of France and Bourbon, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and pretty near Madagaſcar, are places of great importance to the French for their India trade. The air in both is ſalubrious, though warm; but it is cooled by the breezes from the mountains, and by an annual hurricane. The ſoil of the Iſle of France is not ſo fertile for rice and various ſorts of grain; but this deficiency is ſupplied by potatoes and other roots. It produces alſo plenty of game; fiſh are abundant; the meadows afford nouriſhment to numerous herds of cattle, and the trees are beautiful, particularly the ebony, which in quality ſurpaſſes every other yet known. The land and ſea tortoiſes, which were formerly common in theſe iſlands, have become ſcarce ſince the increaſe of their population. Bourbon poſſeſſes this advantage over its rival, that it produces excellent coffee; but the Iſle of France has a good harbour, which renders it more convenient for trade: neither of

them is infeſted with venemous inſects. Theſe two iſlands are each nearly about thirty or forty leagues in circumference; they are well watered, and produce every neceſſary of life. At a ſmall diſtance from them lies a very ſmall one, called *Iſle Rodrigue*, which, in ſome meaſure, is an accumulation of ſand, inhabited by tortoiſes rather than men.

When the Portugueſe diſcovered the Iſle of France, they left there, according to their laudable cuſtom, hogs, goats, and poultry, which the Dutch found greatly multiplied when they landed on the iſland in 1598. They named it the Mauritius, after prince Maurice, and began to form plantations. As they wanted hands in proportion as they increaſed, they ſent to Madagaſcar for ſome of thoſe blacks who had put themſelves under the protection of the French, and whom the latter ſold to them. Theſe men, rendered ſlaves by the moſt villanous treachery, after living in a ſtate of freedom, did not anſwer the expectations of their new maſters; they made their eſcape into the woods, where they multiplied, and acquired ſo much ſtrength, that they obliged the Dutch to abandon the iſland, but they did not quit their retreats, from which they ſallied out on the ſhips that touched to take in water, or to refreſh their ſick. Theſe acts of violence made the Dutch reſolve to erect three ſmall forts to protect the

watering place; but the blacks remained masters of the interior parts of the island, and forced the Dutch to abandon it a second time. The French, who had long kept their eye on this establishment, took possession of it in 1710, and gave it the name of *Isle de France*.

The affairs of the company, notwithstanding the sums it advanced to the new settlers, were attended here with so little prosperity, that it was deliberating whether, like the Dutch, it ought not to abandon the island to the blacks. While in this state of uncertainty, Labourdonnais stepped forwards, and induced the company to make a last effort. He departed in 1735 with very moderate resources. The conduct of this man, so ill rewarded, and who died in consequence of long imprisonment, deserves to be exhibited in all its details.

On his arrival, he found the Isle of France in as miserable a state as it was possible for a colony to be. The inhabitants, few in number, were ignorant, lazy, and mutinous, though half naked, destitute of defense, and perishing of famine. He sent for young negroes from Madagascar, gave them proper instruction, and employed them to compel the Maroon negroes either to submit or to quit the island. He scarcely found in it a single planter, artisan, or soldier; he became all these himself to induce the inhabitants to follow his example. When he landed,

he beheld nothing but miſerable huts; in two or three years, beſides houſes for individuals, he cauſed to be erected warehouſes, arſenals, fortifications, barracks for the officers, mills, quays, and aqueducts; among the laſt there is one three thouſand ſix hundred toiſes in length, which conveys freſh water to the port and the hoſpitals. There were neither highways, horſes, nor carriages: the governor taught the inhabitants to overcome all theſe difficulties. In the courſe of eighteen months he cauſed to be tranſported to the port timber of all kinds proper for ſhipbuilding, for making pontoons, for repairing ſhips, and conſtructing ſloops and boats. In 1737 he launched a brig; in 1738 he built two other veſſels, and put on the ſtocks a ſhip of five hundred tons. All this was accompliſhed in the courſe of five years, between 1735 and 1740, and even before any one ſuſpected that theſe changes were made; ſo that when admiral Boſcawen arrived at the iſland, thinking to take it by aſſault, he found it in the beſt ſtate of defenſe, and was obliged to direct his plans of conqueſt againſt Pondicherry, to which the governor of the Iſle of France was able to ſend aſſiſtance.

The Iſle of Bourbon was alſo diſcovered by the Portugueſe, who called it Maſcarhenas, after the name of an illuſtrious family of Portugal. The French ſettled at Madagaſcar

had baniſhed hither three men, who, being recalled at the expiration of three years, gave a very favourable deſcription of it. Their relation excited the curioſity of Anthony Thaureau, an inhabitant of Fort Dauphin, and he removed to Maſcarhenas, in 1654, with ſeven Frenchmen and ſix negroes. They gave it the name of Bourbon, erected huts, and planted gardens; but as they received no intelligence from Madagaſcar, they began to be impatient. In 1658 they went on board an Engliſh ſhip, which conveyed them to Madras. The French who eſcaped ſome time after from Madagaſcar, when expelled by the natives, irritated on account of their gallantries, being driven in two piroguas with their wives and children towards the Iſle of Bourbon, thought themſelves exceedingly happy to find there the huts and gardens of Thaureau. Whilſt their little colony increaſed in peace, their population was augmented by the arrival of ſome pirates who had been ſhipwrecked on the ſhoals of the iſland: they took ſhelter in the iſland with ſome female Indians who accompanied them; were well received by the inhabitants, whoſe friendſhip they gained; entered into alliances with them, and formed only one people. They reinforced themſelves afterwards by a great many ſlaves, who were neceſſary for the cultivation of their lands. The mixture of races was by theſe means increaſed: but it is wor-

thy of remark, that in regard to rank and privileges, there is no diſtinction in Bourbon between the blacks and the whites; though different in colour, they conſider themſelves no leſs members of the ſame family. A traveller relates, that he ſaw at church a great-grandfather perfectly black, the daughter a mulatto, the grand-daughter a meſtizo, the daughter of the grand daughter a quaderon, and the daughter of the laſt abſolutely fair. Bourbon, beſides what is common to it and the Iſle of France, produces cotton, pepper, benjamin, alum, and excellent tobacco. It contains a volcano, always in a ſtate of eruption. It is interſected by mountains, covered with ſuch impenetrable woods, that there are diſtricts of the iſland which have no intercourſe with each other but by ſea. The inhabitants are exceedingly well made, remarkably nimble, brave, and ingenious.

This iſland was taken poſſeſſion of by the company, which ſtill retains alſo its factories at Mocha for coffee; at Surat for the trade of the Perſian gulph; at Baſſorah for that with Perſia by land; and at Aleppo, as an intermediary magazine. In all theſe places the preponderance is diſputed by the various nations of Europe, who however ought all to live in perfect harmony, both that they may not interfere with each other's markets, and by theſe means avoid

enhancing the price of merchandize, and that they may defend themſelves in common from the vexatious oppreſſion of the mahometan governors, with which they are equally threatened. The company preſerves likewiſe ſome eſtabliſhments on the coaſt of Malabar, but more on the coaſt of Coromandel, and particularly Carical, ſituated in a fertile diſtrict, which produces rice, cotton, and indigo. The French are indebted for this very profitable ſettlement to a treaty with the king of Tanjaur, and not to any act of violence; and it was by mildneſs and equity alſo that they acquired Pondicherry, which was raiſed to the higheſt ſtate of ſplendor by the governors Dumas and Dupleix.

Theſe two men, indeed, found themſelves under very favourable circumſtances, but they are entitled to praiſe for the manner in which they employed them. When Thomas Kuli Khan made the mogul emperor a priſoner in his own capital, the viceroys of that unfortunate monarch, who refuſed to arm in his defenſe, thought themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to conceive the idea of acquiring great ſtates at the expenſe of the petty Indian princes their neighbours. Taouſt Ali Khan, nabob of Arcot, a province on which Madras and Pondicherry depended, was one of theſe ambitious princes. He aſſembled a large army, ſubdued the ſurrounding princes, and carried his conqueſts to

the other ſide of the peninſula, with a deſign to get poſſeſſion of a part of the coaſt of Malabar; but the Indian princes, alarmed, applied to the Mahrattas, who inhabit the mountains, a numerous and warlike people, whom they perſuaded that the nabob of Arcot, being a mahometan, intended to exterminate the pagans. The Mahrattas took the field in 1733, to defend their religion, and defeated the nabob of Arcot. He was killed before his ſons, for whom he intended theſe conqueſts, and who were carrying on war in another quarter, could come to his aſſiſtance; and the Mahrattas over-ran the whole nabobſhip, laying waſte the country with fire and ſword.

Ali Khan's widow requeſted an aſylum from the governor of Pondicherry. He received her with politeneſs, and made it his ſtudy to procure her every thing that could alleviate her misfortunes. The Mahrattas demanded this family to be given up to them: Dumas refuſed, and ſupported a ſiege, which was attended with little bloodſhed, as the place was ſtrong and well fortified, and as theſe people were not much acquainted with the art of attacking towns. Having acquired abundance of plunder, they retired on receiving a preſent. A report of the generous behaviour of the French was conveyed even to the court of the mogul, with whom the nabob's ſon had entered into a reconciliation, and the

prime miniſter wrote a letter of thanks to M. Dumas. The ſon of the deceaſed prince came to ſee his mother, and to afford her conſolation. The governor received him with every poſſible mark of honour. The prince highly pleaſed with his treatment, gave him three diſtricts, producing an ample revenue; and ſent him his father's armour and dreſs of ceremony, enriched with gold and precious ſtones. The grand mogul being informed of the grant made perſonally to the governor, was pleaſed to confirm it, and to add to it the dignity of nabob, which gave him the command of four thouſand five hundred horſe. Dumas requeſted that theſe favours might not be conferred upon him perſonally, but remain attached, in perpetuity, to the governor of Pondicherry, which was accordingly granted.

He was ſucceeded, in 1741, by Dupleix, who took poſſeſſion of his dignity with all the pomp and ſplendor uſual on ſuch occaſions. He ſurrounded himſelf in his government with every appendage of honour attached in India to that dignity; a numerous and ſplendid guard, with a brilliant band of muſic, placed at the moſt frequented gate of the city—a cuſtom, which forms a part of the privileges of a nabob. While the French, who are naturally inclined to be intoxicated with favours, were highly gratified with theſe flattering marks of diſtinction, ad-

miral Boſcawen arrived before the city. He diſembarked a body of troops, and laid ſiege to the place. Vanity now gave way to military duty; every man became a ſoldier; and Dupleix ſhewed himſelf as capable in the field as in the cabinet. The Engliſh were repulſed, and re-embarked. This glorious defenſe procured the French new marks of eſteem from the mogul court. The Indians, as ready to imitate their monarch as other nations, conceived for the French ſentiments of friendſhip and eſteem, which they ſtill retain, notwithſtanding the misfortunes of the nation.

The company carries on trade alſo with China. All its imports muſt be brought to Port l'Orient, ſituated on the coaſt of Brittany, at the mouth of the river Blavet. The largeſt ſhips may anchor even at the bottom of the bay, but few of them enter it. The *perpetual* company has been brought to ruin by the three cauſes, perhaps, which retarded its commencement, as I have already related: the abundance of the country, the faults of the government, and the national character. A fourth may be added, viz. that the centre of the company's affairs being in the capital, was at too great a diſtance from the ſea: and it may not perhaps be improper to ſuggeſt a fifth; that, owing to the proximity of the court, intereſt was too predominant in the choice of men to fill the different employments,

The certainty of protection corrupts diſcipline, deſtroys ſubordination, and renders ſubalterns impertinent and diſobedient to the orders they receive. It is certainly poſſible to obſerve a medium between Dutch ſeverity, and the too complaiſant urbanity of the French.

Commerce of Oſtend.

Oſtend, on the limits of the Netherlands and Flanders, with a good port, is admirably well ſituated for commerce; and yet this is the reaſon why it has none, or at any rate very little. All nations have endeavoured to throw obſtacles in the way of its trade, through a dread that it might injure their own. In 1598, when the king of Spain reſigned the ten provinces, which had remained faithful to him, to the archduke Albert, and the infanta Iſabella, he made it an expreſs condition that the Flemings ſhould not, under any pretence whatever, carry on trade either in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies. This excluſive condition, which was introduced merely for the benefit of the Spaniards, has been inſiſted on by the Dutch, who threw off the Spaniſh yoke; or it has been held out by them to conceal the true reaſon—thirſt of gain, avarice, and jealouſy, which excited them to oppoſe the commerce of the Oſtenders. The latter replied in a thouſand different ways, in order to preſerve that privilege to which they were entitled by the laws of nature. When the aſſociation was perſecuted as a company, they ſent out

private ſhips with *lettres de mer*, ſometimes in the name of one power and ſometimes of another. They changed the places which their veſſels touched at, the routes they purſued, and the ports they frequented. From Hamburgh, on the coaſt of Germany, they removed to Sienna and Trieſt, on the Adriatic: they had ſome hopes alſo of being protected at Leghorn. But what could they do againſt the Engliſh, the Dutch, the French, and the Spaniards, while abandoned at the ſame time by the emperor, who ought to have protected them? The Oſtend company made a figure in all the public manifeſtoes iſſued on account of the wars between the European ſtates for nearly the whole of that century. It was often a ſcarecrow employed by the houſe of Auſtria, to procure the alliance of the maritime powers. Tired of being the ſport of this policy, the merchants ſeparated, and employed their capitals in other branches of trade. The Oſtend company no longer exiſts; but ſhould the intereſt of the powers of Europe happen to change, it is not impoſſible that it may yet be revived.

Commerce of Sweden.

It was in a great meaſure to the downfal of this company that Sweden is indebted for the ſmall branch of Oriental commerce which it cultivates. The warlike ſpirit of that nation, their temperance, and their ſeverity of character, reſiſted for a long time the ſolicitations of com-

merce. Guſtavus Adolphus encouraged his ſubjects to engage in this trade by letters of invitation in 1626. The celebrated Chriſtina was deſirous of forming eſtabliſhments in Guinea and in India; but they diſpleaſed the Dutch, who contrived to ruin them. The arts of peace could not flouriſh under warlike kings, the ſeries of whom ended in Charles XII. His ſucceſſor made his ſubjects comprehend that the glory and happineſs of an empire may be maintained without the whole nation being ſoldiers. This happy change in ideas took place at the time of the ſuſpenſion of the Oſtend company, which was a real diſſolution. A number of active and able men being then deſtitute of employment, and obliged to puſh their fortunes, the king of Sweden received them into his ſervice. In the year 1731, more than a hundred years after the exhortatory letters of Guſtavus Adolphus, the Swediſh monarch eſtabliſhed a company, the ſeat of which he fixed at Gottenburg. The Dutch, as uſual, exclaimed againſt this innovation; and beſides ſome indirect acts of hoſtility, by refuſing refreſhments and other aſſiſtance to Swediſh veſſels, they even ſeized ſome of them. The king acted with firmneſs, and cauſed ſatisfaction to be made for the injury. This modeſt company never uſurped any thing from the Indians, or the Europeans. Its agents, diſperſed throughout the other factories as private

merchants, provide the cargoes, which are never very conſiderable, and conſequently not capable of exciting the jealouſy of the other companies. The Swedes are tolerated at China, and have a factory on the river of Canton. The example of the Swedes proves that trade may be carried on in India, without oppreſſing the natives or invading their country. In that caſe it might, perhaps, be leſs lucrative, but it would be more conſiſtent with juſtice.

It may not be improper to remark, that before the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope the Indians traded with Europe by three routes, which are ſtill open:

1. From Bengal, or Mazulipatan, they went to Delhi, and then turning weſt to Cabul and Candahar, proceeded by Coraſan and the northern part of Perſia to the Caſpian Sea, from which they continued their route to the Black Sea, and diſperſed themſelves through various maritime trading towns of the Levant, where their goods were received by the Piſans, Genoeſe, and Venetians. Thoſe of the coaſt of Malabar, ſetting out from Goa, tranſported their merchandize on oxen over that large ridge of mountains called the Gauts; and proceeded by Aurengabad and Tatta to Candahar, where they joined thoſe from Bengal. The going and returning employed three years, and the whole journey was performed by land.

2. From Bengal and Maſulipatan, they proceeded by ſea to Surat. From that port, the grand emporium of India, they repaired to Baſſora, at the bottom of the Perſian Gulph. The merchandize put on board veſſels in the Tigris was carried to Bagdad, from which it was tranſported on camels through the deſert to Aleppo, where it was received by the Italian merchants, who diſperſed it over all Europe. The time employed in going and returning was two years, half by land and half by water.

3. From Bengal, or Mazulipatan, they ſailed to Surat, and thence to the entrance of the Red Sea. The Iſthmus of Suez was the term of the Indian navigation; and there were two routes from that place for the European commerce: the longeſt, through the great deſert to Aleppo, required forty days, with an eſcort; the ſhorteſt, from Suez to Cairo, through the deſert, employed eighteen days, and was exceedingly dangerous on account of the banditti by which it was infeſted. By way of ſecurity, the caravans hired ſafeguards, who engaged for a certain ſum to protect them from being plundered; and this practice is ſtill followed. The guards, being aſſociated with the wandering Arabs, can make them retire whenever they appear. The Europeans take charge of the remainder of the route to Alexandria, Roſetta,

and the other maritime places of trade in the Levant.

As this route requires only a year, or a year and a half, it has always been, and ſtill is, the moſt lucrative when the caravan is not plundered or obliged to pay too dear to the Arabs for protection.

It is here ſeen that the greater part of theſe journeys is performed through countries ſubject to the dominion of the grand ſignior. By protecting the route, he might render it much more frequented, and procure immenſe benefit to his revenue; but the hiſtory of the Turks will ſhew that, though greedy of gain, they are much better calculated to acquire it by violence than by political combinations.

Ottoman Empire.

The Ottomans are diſpleaſed with the name of Turks, which we generally give to them. They reject it as indicating a rude man; but it ought to be adopted in preference to any other, becauſe it recals the remembrance of Turk, a deſcendant of Japhet, the father of all the nations or tribes who inhabit Tartary. The branch of the Ottomans, by retaining that name, might boaſt of being the moſt illuſtrious in the world. It is believed, as has been already ſaid, that they proceeded from Tartary towards the Caſpian Sea, where there ſtill exiſts a wan-

dering horde who ſpeak the ſame language as the Ottomans. They thence penetrated into Perſia, and diſperſed themſelves over Aſia Minor, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, under Othman, the firſt of their chiefs who had any celebrity.

Othman, 1ſt Sultan, 1300.

Othman, with ſeven other Turkiſh captains, ſeized all the countries which had been in the poſſeſſion of the Selucidæ in Aſia Minor. His ſhare was Bithynia. He rendered himſelf maſter of Pruſa, which he made his capital. After a reign of twenty-ſeven years, which had been entirely ſpent in military expeditions, he died at the age of ſixty-nine. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Orchan, who continued the conqueſts of his father in the Greek empire, and took Nicomedia and Nicea. As his ſoldiers hitherto had received no pay, and were therefore ſubject to mutiny, Orchan diſbanded theſe troops, and compoſed his infantry of young men, taken from diſtricts belonging to the chriſtians, whom he cauſed to be inſtructed in the mahometan religion, and his cavalry of country land-holders of the Turkiſh race, whoſe property enabled them to diſpenſe with pay. This prince was humane, and a friend to letters. He built at Pruſa a beautiful moſque, and founded an hoſpital and an academy, worthy of royal munificence. His devotion and charity, however, did not prevent him from endeavouring to enlarge his kingdom

at the expenſe of the petty muſſulman princes, his neighbours. Cantacuzenus, the Greek emperor, could not ſhelter himſelf from his attacks but by giving him one of his daughters in marriage. This alliance was highly advantageous to the Greeks, whom Orchan frequently aſſiſted againſt thoſe enemies who aſſailed them. The piety and juſtice of this prince are extolled by the Turkiſh hiſtorians. He died at the age of ſixty-ſix, after a reign of thirty-five years.

Notwithſtanding the good intelligence which prevailed very often between the Greeks and the Turks, the latter loſt no opportunity of taking from the former whatever they found convenient.

Amurath I. the ſon and ſucceſſor of Orchan, paſſed the ſtrait of Gallipoli, and took Adrianople. It appears, by what happened to him in this city, that the Turkiſh emperor was not then more exempted than any other from the formalities of juſtice, and the external duties of religion. Amurath was ſummoned as a witneſs before the muphti, who to this quality united that of judge. As he was beginning to ſpeak, the muphti ſtopped him: "Your teſtimony," ſaid he, "can receive no credit." The prince looked at him with aſtoniſhment. "As emperor," continued the miniſter of religion, "your "word is ſacred; but here it has no force. Juſ- "tice does not admit the teſtimony of a man

Amurath I. 3d Sultan, 1356.

" who has not yet united himſelf to the body of " the muſſulmen in public prayer." Amurath was ſenſible of his fault; and, in order to atone for it, built a moſque, together with ſeveral ſchools,

Amurath I. inſtituted the corps of janiſſaries, or gave a ſolid conſtitution to the militia eſtabliſhed by Orchan II. He ordained, that the fifth ſlave of thoſe taken from the enemy ſhould belong to the emperor. As incurſions into the territories of the neighbouring ſtates, and particularly thoſe of the Greeks, were then frequent, theſe captives ſoon formed a numerous body of young men, who were made to embrace iſlamiſm. The emperor ſent this new army to a hadgi, or doctor, celebrated by his miracles and propheſies; begging that, in his prayers, he would recommend theſe militia to God. The ſaint, placing the ſleeve of his robe upon one of their heads, ſaid: " Let their name be janiſſaries;"—which ſignifies new ſoldiers;—" let ſpirit and boldneſs " be diſplayed in their countenances; may their " hands be victorious, their ſwords ſharp, and " their lances always ready to ſtrike the enemy. " Wherever they go, may they return with the " viſage of health." Since that period they have retained the name of janiſſaries. Their cap has the form of the hadgi's ſleeve. They form a body of forty thouſand men, the moſt formidable of all the Turkiſh troops.

The death of Amurath was accompanied with a very remarkable circumſtance. He had juſt gained a battle which he fought with the Hungarians, the Wallachians, Albanians, Triballi, and other nations united. Congratulating himſelf on his victory in the field of battle, he ſaid: "This ſucceſs gives me more pleaſure, as I "dreamed laſt night that I had received a mortal "wound from the hand of an enemy." On theſe words, a Triballian, who had been lying among the dead, ſtarted up, plunged his poniard into the emperor's belly, and killed him on the ſpot. He had reigned thirty-three years, and lived ſixty-four. This prince is extolled for his juſtice, temperance, modeſty, and piety. He was fond of the converſation of the learned.

Bajazet, 4th Sultan, 1389.

Bajazet, though the eldeſt of the two ſons of Amurath, had need of the ſuffrages of the great to enable him to mount the throne. His brother, who attempted to place himſelf there alſo, was ſtrangled. This is the firſt inſtance among the Turks of that cruelty which has become ſo common. Bajazet is celebrated by his victories, and the moſt diſtreſſing of misfortunes. Never was any prince more ſpeedy or more ſecret in his expeditions. He flew from Aſia to Europe, returned from Europe to Aſia, with the velocity of lightning. The Turks, therefore, have given him the ſurname of the Thunderbolt. To aſſemble an army, divide or unite it, diſap-

pear and immediately return, and to ſhew himſelf ſuddenly when ſuppoſed to be at a great diſtance, were all operations with which he was familiar; but he ſometimes found enemies equally active, and equally quick in taking advantage of circumſtances.

Bajazet had defeated Stephen. The army of Moldavia was routed, and the prince was flying, hurried on by the reſt. Being cloſely purſued, he preſented himſelf before the gates of the city of Nems, where he had left his mother with a ſtrong garriſon. This magnanimous female called out to him, from the top of the walls: "Return, go and efface the ſhame of thy de-"feat. I had rather thou ſhouldſt periſh by the "hand of the enemy, than have to reproach "thyſelf with the infamy of being indebted for "thy life to a woman." Stephen retired, ſtruck with the reproaches of his mother; and meeting a trumpeter, commanded him to ſound the charge. He was joined, in an inſtant, by twelve thouſand Moldavians who had eſcaped the ſlaughter; the prince placed himſelf at their head, fell upon the enemy diſperſed throughout the country, put them to flight in his turn, penetrated to the imperial tent, and compelled Bajazet to retreat, with a few followers, to Adrianople.

This city was at that time his capital; but he employed every method that force or ſtra-

tagem could afford, to procure one more important, and to eſtabliſh his throne at Conſtantinople. He was maſter of the ſtrait by means of his fleet, the firſt which the Turkiſh emperors had cauſed to be conſtructed. The troops deſtined to ravage the Grecian territories had hitherto been tranſported in veſſels procured at hazard. Bajazet conveyed in his fleet a whole army, and landed them under the very walls of Conſtantinople. There was, however, no aſſault, as Bajazet truſted that the city would ſoon ſurrender, on account of a diviſion which prevailed between the reigning emperor and a competitor; but the former choſe rather to reſign the ſceptre to his rival, than to ſee it fall into the hands of the Turks. Bajazet was obliged to be ſatisfied with a tribute; but he ſhewed his pretenſions to the city by requiring the eſtabliſhment of a mahometan tribunal, for trying the cauſes of ſuch of his ſubjects as reſided in it.

He would perhaps have returned to make another attempt, had he not been prevented by the neceſſity of defending himſelf againſt the famous Tamerlane. It is allowed by the moſt reſpectable hiſtorians, that the ſultan provoked the attacks of this enemy by his pride and bravadoes. He always replied with haughty inſolence to the overtures of the Tartar prince, who wiſhed only to accommodate ſome trifling differences which had ariſen in conſequence of their

vicinity. But Bajazet, jealous of the glory of this conqueror, ſeems to have been inflamed with a deſire of bringing their ſtrength to an open trial. He had that ſatisfaction in the plains of Pruſa, which were the ſcene of one of the bloodieſt battles ever fought. It continued a whole day. Thouſands were killed on both ſides; but after diſplaying the utmoſt efforts of valour, Bajazet was defeated and made priſoner. Two different accounts have been given of the manner in which he was treated by the conqueror. One ſays, that Tamerlane cauſed him to be carried about in his ſuite encloſed in an iron cage; and that he fed him with fragments from his table. The other, more credited and more becoming the conqueror of Aſia, is, that he received his priſoner with friendſhip and eſteem; that he conſoled him under his misfortune, and intended to reſtore his crown: but Bajazet died in confinement, at the age of fifty-eight, after a glorious reign of fourteen years; the ſplendour of which was tarniſhed only by his laſt cataſtrophe.

There are reckoned to have been twelve years of interregnum; that is to ſay, of time which elapſed while the three ſons of Bajazet each governed a part of his ſtates, till the period when they were all united under one. Soliman, the eldeſt, who had eſcaped from the battle, collected ſome remains of the army, and maintained

himſelf at a diſtance from Tamerlane. When informed of his father's death, he aſſumed the title of emperor. Tamerlane invited him to an interview, with an intention, as is ſuppoſed, of placing the crown on his head; but Soliman gave an ungracious reception to his deputies. The conqueror, incenſed, ſent for Muſa, Bajazet's ſecond ſon; and putting the ſceptre into his hands, addreſſed him as follows: "Receive "the inheritance of thy father. A ſoul truly "royal knows how to conquer kingdoms, and "how to reſtore them. This is the only great-"neſs to which I aſpire." The Tartar then retired to his own ſtates, and left the two rivals to contend for the empire, which he deſpiſed. Soliman was brave, but immerſed in pleaſure: he entertained few ſcruples in regard to religion, and was addicted to wine. Theſe defects in his character induced ſeveral lords with their troops to eſpouſe the party of his brother Muſa, who was prudent, but too prudent for a nation who preferred in their princes military virtues to all others. A third, named Mahomet, remained in Amaſia, from which he beheld the ſtruggle of his two brothers. Soliman fell a prey rather to his own debaucheries, than to the aſcendancy of his brother. He was killed, in a ſtate of intoxication, in the bath. When Mahomet ſaw that he had only one enemy to combat, he applied to Manuel, the Greek emperor, and ſo-

licited his assistance. The emperor sent him whatever troops he could spare; and accompanied this service, with all those marks of attention which tend to enhance the value of a kindness. The Turkish lords, attached to Musa, rather through hatred and indignation, on account of the bad conduct of Soliman, than from affection for him, no sooner saw in the ranks a prince whom they could esteem, than they went over in great numbers to his party. Musa being abandoned, was killed in his flight; and Mahomet was proclaimed in his stead.

Mahomet I. 5th Sultan, 1413.

Mahomet, on ascending the throne, had an opportunity of displaying a noble character, the brightest features, in which were gratitude and clemency. The prince of Caramania, whom the emperor had pardoned for his rebellion, on receiving from him a sacred promise of future fidelity, again revolted, and was taken. Being carried before Mahomet, this prince addressed him as follows: "Thy perfidious soul has taught "thee to betray thy faith. I find in mine senti- "ments more magnanimous, and more agree- "able to the majesty of my name. The honour "of my crown will not permit me to return thee "like for like. The punishment of such an in- "famous wretch would tarnish my glory." Mahomet not only pardoned him, but restored to him his states. This was perhaps too much;

but he took the precaution to place garriſons in his ſtrongeſt fortreſſes.

Manuel's generoſity, when he aſſiſted Mahomet to conquer his empire, was not free from the hope of reward. Mahomet had engaged to pay a ſum of money, and reſtore certain places. When eſtabliſhed in peace, Manuel ſent an embaſſy of the ableſt men of his court to congratulate him, and remind him of his promiſes. The ſultan diſcharged them with the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity, and ſent back the embaſſadors loaded with preſents. He, at the ſame time, ſaid: "Tell the emperor, my father, that having been "re-eſtabliſhed in my ſtates, by his aſſiſtance "and the bleſſing of God, I ſhall in future be "as ſubmiſſive to his will as a ſon ought to the "will of his father; and that I ſhall never ceaſe "to have a grateful remembrance of his kind-"neſs: let him only command; whatever he de-"ſires, I ſhall execute with attention and ſpeed." We are told alſo of a noble reply which he made to the ambaſſadors of Servia, Bulgaria, and other petty ſtates, which now form Turkey in Europe. Having admitted them to his table, and drunk their healths, he ſaid, on their taking leave: "Tell your maſters, that I offer them peace: "that I accept the terms which they have pro-"poſed; and that I wiſh the God of peace "may be an enemy to thoſe by whom it ſhall be "violated."

There is one event of his life which forms a contraſt with the indulgence he ſhewed to the prince of Caramania; but the voice of nature is often ſilenced by policy. When Bajazet was taken at Pruſa, ſearch was made, but in vain, for his youngeſt ſon Muſtapha, who had combated with his father. The moſt general opinion was, that he had remained on the field of battle: but a long time after, it was found, that a man who called himſelf Muſtapha, had appeared in Wallachia. He was ſupported by Cineis, governor of Nicopolis, and maſter of the courſe of the Danube. His party increaſed, and became ſo formidable, that Mahomet thought himſelf under the neceſſity of going to attack him in perſon. The falſe or pretended uſurper was beat, and fled with his protector to a Greek fortreſs. The governor being ſummoned to deliver them up refuſed, unleſs he obtained the conſent of the emperor at Conſtantinople. Manuel approved of the governor's conduct, in not abandoning men who had thrown themſelves with confidence into his arms; but he purſued, with his friend Mahomet, ſuch meaſures as might induce us to believe that Muſtapha was not ſuch an impoſtor as they pretended. They agreed that the priſoner ſhould be delivered up to Manuel, who was to confine him during his own life; that after his death his ſucceſſors ſhould be at liberty to diſpoſe of him as they thought pro-

per; and Mahomet engaged to pay, every year, a very large ſum to defray the expence of guarding and maintaining him. So many precautions would not have been taken with a manifeſt impoſtor. Beſides, all thoſe who ſaw Muſtapha, found in his countenance the features of the perſon whom he pretended to be. His language did not belie the reſemblance. It is a blemiſh, therefore, in the life of Mahomet, otherwiſe ſo reſpectable, to have condemned his brother to perpetual impriſonment, and not to have behaved towards him with the ſame generous ſentiments as he did towards the prince of Caramania. Mahomet lived forty-ſeven years, but reigned only nine. His death was concealed forty-days by his viſir Ibrahim, to give time to his ſon Amurath, to return from Romelia, where he was carrying on war. Mahomet had ordered this meaſure himſelf, and at the ſame time named Manuel guardian to his two other ſons, in order to enſure the ſafety of their lives, if poſſible.

Amurath being only eighteen years of age, Manuel was afraid that advantage might be taken of his youth to make him iſſue ſome cruel order againſt his two brothers. In quality of guardian, he demanded his wards; but his demand was refuſed under a pretence that it was not proper to ſuppoſe theſe young princes to be educated in the chriſtian religion. The emperor of Conſtantinople declared, that ſince his demand

Amurath II 6th Sultan, 1422.

was refuſed, he would find means to provide another ſucceſſor to Mahomet. He accordingly releaſed Muſtapha, who had been treated almoſt as an impoſtor, and gave him aſſiſtance. A bloody war took place between the uncle and the nephew. Muſtapha, very different from his brother Mahomet, broke his word to old Manuel, and refuſed to deliver up to him a place which he had promiſed. The latter abandoned him; and being then incapable of reſiſting Amurath, he was taken priſoner. The nephew commanded his uncle to be publicly hung, in order to perpetuate the opinion of his being an impoſtor. As Manuel had foreſeen, the ſultan freed himſelf from the oldeſt of his two brothers. Some of the lords, moved with pity, took up arms to ſave the ſecond; but he alſo fell into the hands of his mercileſs brother, who cauſed him to be ſtrangled, though only ſix years of age.

Policy, as much as a deſire of placing his wards in ſafety, had induced Manuel to enter into the plot of the malcontents. They were not uſeleſs to him; for the embarraſſment they occaſioned to Amurath obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of Conſtantinople, which he attacked at the head of an army of two hundred thouſand men. It appears, that the Turk then adopted another plan of operations; which was to fall upon the people who might give aſſiſtance to

the capital; to blockade it at a diſtance, and cut it off from relief. Hence aroſe the wars in which Amurath was engaged with the Tranſylvanians, the Iberians, the Wallachians, and all the inhabitants of Romelia, who could be of uſe to Conſtantinople; and above all with Hungary. The Turks, for the firſt time, attacked Belgrade, which they ſo often attempted to get poſſeſſion of afterwards. The victories of Amurath produced a peace, which Stephen king of Hungary ſwore upon the evangeliſts to maintain. The ſultan was anxious to obtain it from a motive which might not perhaps be readily gueſſed: to deliver himſelf from the cares of the throne, that he might enjoy life in the boſom of tranquillity. He, therefore, reſigned the crown to his ſon Mahomet, who was then ſcarcely of age.

The king of Hungary imagined that the abdication of Amurath, would enable him to recover, with facility, what he had loſt. At his inſtigation there was formed a kind of cruſade. Bohemians, Poles, Germans, Venetians, and French, all flocked to his ſtandards. The Turks, apprehending that their young emperor would not be able to reſiſt this torrent, preſſed the father to reſume the ſceptre. He gained the famous battle of Varna, in which the king of Hungary was killed. Amurath, it is ſaid, cauſed the treaty which Stephen had violated, to be affixed to the point of a lance, with a paper con-

taining imprecations againſt his breach of faith. After this exploit, Amurath returned to his retirement, which he quitted once more to quell a revolt of the janiſſaries. He then retained the reins of goverment, which he rendered illuſtrious to the end by new defeats of the Hungarians, and by that of Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, who with moderate forces cauſed victory to be often doubtful, and made the laſt years of Amurath as warlike as the firſt. He lived forty-nine years, and reigned thirty.

Mahomet II. 7th Sultan, 1451.

Mahomet II. at the age of twenty-one, had twice mounted the throne, and twice deſcended with the docility of a ſubmiſſive youth. Of ſeveral brothers whom he had, there remained only one, ſix months old: the reſt had fallen a ſacrifice to diſeaſe. Mahomet freed himſelf from all uneaſineſs on his account by putting him to death. His reign, which laſted thirty years, was a continued ſeries of battles and victories, almoſt without a ſingle reverſe. He had, however, to contend with generals capable of ſuſpending his progreſs, and of checking his ambition, had their forces been equal to their courage. Among theſe were the celebrated Huniades, king of Hungary; Matthias Corvinus his ſon, and above all Scanderbeg, the hero of the Epirotes, and even of the Turks: for they never ſpeak of this warrior but with reſpect; and after his death they made relicks of his bones,

which they wore as a preſervative againſt dangers.

We have ſeen, that Amurath paved the way to Mahomet for the deſtruction of the Greek empire. It was confined almoſt to Conſtantinople, the whole environs of which were already covered with Turkiſh fortreſſes, as ſo many advanced poſts, deſtined to facilitate a ſiege. To theſe Mahomet added the two caſtles on the Aſiatic and European ſide, which intercepted all commerce with the Mediterranean, and at length appeared under its walls at the head of forty thouſand men. With ſuch land and naval forces, ſupported by a train of artillery, ſuperior to any ever before ſeen, and remarkable for the number of pieces, and the ſize of the calibre, it was impoſſible that his ſucceſs could be doubtful. But however certain the ſucceſs of this multitude might appear againſt a garriſon of five or ſix thouſand men the victory was dearly purchaſed. Mahomet behaved at the capture of the city in an equivocal manner; cruel and merciful, ſparing the lives of a few of the vanquiſhed, and giving up others to the ſword, though in his eyes they ought not to have appeared more criminal; but, as we have ſeen, there was no diſtinction: the ruin was general, and no one was exempted from pillage.

When the capital was taken Mahomet turned his arms againſt what ſtill remained of the Greek

empire, in the iſles and on the continent. He firſt ſubjected the Morea to tribute; then conquered it; afterwards loſt it by the efforts of the Venetians, and again ſubdued it entirely by means of the quarrels he excited among its defenders. He took the two Phoceas; made himſelf maſter of Chio and Leſbos, and had the honour of reducing Athens under his dominion, and of commanding in the country formerly ſubject to the laws of Lacedemon. The Albanians, brave ſoldiers, who are thought to be deſcended from the ancient Spartans, were of great ſervice to him. By the death of Scanderbeg, Epirus alſo fell a prey to his arms. Matthias Corvinus, confined his exploits to Servia; and the knights of Rhodes oppoſed to his maritime invaſions, a bulwark which he could not overturn; but he opened for himſelf an entrance into Italy by the port of Otranto. The reader may eaſily conceive what oceans of blood muſt have been ſhed to gratify the ambition of this emperor; to what misfortunes he expoſed people whoſe ſubmiſſion to their ſovereigns and laws he ought to have reſpected, and whoſe fidelity was always cruelly puniſhed by this barbarous conqueror. Some qualities worthy of eſteem, are, however, aſcribed to him. His bravery and ſkill in the art of war have no need of being extolled: he gave too many proofs of them. He was well verſed in the

Turkiſh ſciences, and above all aſtronomy. He ſpoke the Greek, Latin, Chaldean, and Perſian; had a great fondneſs for hiſtory; and puniſhed robbery and every ſpecies of injuſtice with ſeverity, though the greateſt of robbers himſelf and the injuſteſt of men. In conſequence of thoſe faults, which the great dignify with the name of virtues, Mahomet paid no reſpect to religion or treaties when he found them in oppoſition to his intereſt; and he ſtained his ſceptre with blood for the ſpace of thirty years.

When Mahomet died, his youngeſt ſon Bajazet, whom he had named his ſucceſſor, was in his government of Amaſia, where he was preparing for a journey to Mecca. The chiefs of the empire wrote to him, that if he came to aſſiſt them by his arms and advice, it would be much more advantageous for religion and the ſtate, than if he employed his time in a pilgrimage. He however replied, that it was not in his power to defer the *moſt holy pilgrimage*; that he would rather renounce the empire of the univerſe, than be unfaithful to his vow; but leſt public affairs ſhould ſuffer by his abſence, they might acknowledge his ſon, Corcul, as ſovereign until his return. Corcul was a prince of great mildneſs and modeſty, and untainted by ambition; as he fully ſhewed when his father returned at the end of nine months. The devout emperor not being certain in what manner

Bajazet II. 8th Sultan, 1480.

he might be received, wrote to his ſon to retain the reins of government, and to the chiefs to obey him. In regard to himſelf, he aſked only permiſſion to reſide at Nicea, as a private individual. The chiefs, who were perfectly ſatisfied with Corcul, preſented themſelves before him, and informed him, without farther explanation, that having heard of his father's return they were come to know his pleaſure under theſe circumſtances. As the prince had governed ſo much to the ſatisfaction of all ranks, had he teſtified the leaſt deſire of retaining the chief power, it is certain the crown might have remained on his head; but Corcul, with a kind of indignation, replied: "Do you doubt my fidelity "to my father? your artful diſcourſe would in- "duce me to believe ſo. Are you ignorant "that my father did not reſign his crown into "my hands; he only charged me to command "in his ſtead until he ſhould return from a "pilgrimage, undertaken for the good of his "ſoul, and that of the ſtate. In accepting it, "I pretended to no other merit than that of "obeying him. The empire is his; let him "reſume it; I reſign the ſceptre. You will "never obſerve in me any other diſpoſitions "than thoſe worthy of a ſon and a ſubject." He then conducted all the chiefs into his father's preſence, and, as ſoon as he beheld him, he addreſſed them as follows: "What you have

" hitherto ſeen in me was only his ſhadow; " light appears, and the ſhadow vaniſhes. Thus " to him alone reſpect and obedience are due." Corcul aſſiſted at his father's coronation; firſt paid him homage, and ſet out for Magneſia, with the train and appointments of an emperor.

During Bajazet's abſence, the Ottoman horizon became involved in a cloud which his return diſſipated. This prince was born before his father aſcended the throne; but his brother, named Nizim, came into the world after his father had been in poſſeſſion of the empire. Nizim, on this account, pretended that the crown belonged to him, and that his father had acted unjuſtly in conferring it on his eldeſt ſon. He conceived that the abſence of Bajazet afforded him a favourable moment for aſſerting his right; and the party which he formed placed him on the throne at Pruſa. It was with much chagrin that he learned the return of Bajazet, and found himſelf obliged to contend with his brother for a poſſeſſion which he thought a much eaſier taſk to take from his nephew. The preſence of Bajazet, indeed, diſperſed almoſt in a moment the whole of Zizim's adherents. One battle was ſufficient to decide the quarrel. Zizim, defeated, fled for ſhelter to the chriſtians, where he died, as will be ſeen hereafter, a victim to treachery.

The devout Bajazet was no leſs warlike than

his father. He ſubdued the Moldavians; made a conqueſt of Caramania; rendered ſeveral of the Aſiatic princes tributary; had conſiderable ſucceſs in Syria, which he attacked; reduced Croatia under his power; and, in ſpite of the Venetians, occaſioned great devaſtation in the Morea; landed a body of troops in the Iſle of Rhodes, from which he carried off a conſiderable booty; and paved the way for the conqueſt of Egypt, by depriving the Mamalukes, who commanded there, of the neceſſary ſuccours which they derived from Circaſſia. Theſe Mamalukes were a military corps, who had ſeized upon Egypt. They recruited in Circaſſia, from which they procured their braveſt ſoldiers. Bajazet, with a deſign to intercept from them this reſource, entered Circaſſia, over-ran the country from one end to the other, and carried away from it a great number of captives. The ſource of the militia of the Mamalukes was thus dried up; and Cailebai, their chief, foreſeeing the conſequence of theſe precautions, died of vexation.

It will no doubt ſeem ſurprizing, that Bajazet, after ſo many exploits, being taxed with indolence and indifference for the glory of the empire, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be depreſſed by the load of this imputation. Exhauſted, it is ſaid, with fatigue and debauchery, he deſtined the crown for his eldeſt ſon Achmet. Selim, the youngeſt, being informed of this diſpoſition, took

up arms, and demanded to have the preference. He was, however, defeated; and Bajazet forbade the fugitives to be purſued, in hopes that his ſon, rendered humble by misfortune, would return to his duty. Being now eaſy on this point, he reſumed the deſign of giving up the empire to Achmet. The latter, as appears, fearing the intrigues of his brother, obſtinately refuſed; and the old emperor, rather than abandon the ſceptre to his rebellious ſon, reſolved to ſuſtain the weight of it as long as he lived.

In this ſituation of affairs, while enjoying a life of tranquillity, he learned that Selim was coming to pay him a viſit; and that he was already in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople. This prince had only a few followers; but he was ſure of ſeeing them increaſed by the greater part of the nobility, who were ready to receive him; and above all by the janiſſaries, tired of a peace which had continued ten years. Selim, who was artful enough to cauſe himſelf to be ſolicited, replied to the firſt entreaties: "No, I cannot reſolve to do any thing that is contrary to the will of my father. Alas! I have been ſufficiently taught by experience that my deſigns are not favoured by God." He, however, yielded. On his approach, the whole court of the old emperor, a few individuals excepted, abandoned him in ſucceſſion, and ranged themſelves under the banners of his ſon. Eight days were ſpent

in receiving theſe deſerters. During this interval, he ſent to inform his father, that he only wiſhed to pay his reſpects to him. "If ſuch be "his intention," ſaid the old man, "why does "he delay it? If he makes this pretext a co- "vering to conceal impious projects, why does "he loſe his time to ſo little purpoſe?" At the end of winter he threw aſide the maſk; but he gave ſuch a colour to his pretenſions as might ſtill leave to him the honour of apparent reſpect.

"Go tell my father," ſaid he to one of his envoys, "that I will in nothing depart from the "obedience which I owe to him; that I am "ready to obey his orders wherever he may chooſe "to ſend me. I only beg he will give me ſatis- "faction reſpecting doubts which I entertain in "regard to the preſent government." Selim then threw out ſome ſevere reflections againſt the government, under the form of queſtions. "Why has not my father," ſaid he, "repulſed "the king of Perſia? Why has he not declared war "againſt that of Egypt? Why has he ſuffered "his empire to be degraded, and his troops to "become languid by contemptible indolence? "Are theſe," continued he, alluding to the courtiers who had remained with his father, "are theſe the invincible heroes who formerly "cauſed the name of Bajazet to be reſpected by "ſurrounding nations? With him, at preſent,

" they lead a voluptuous effeminate life. Where " then is the honour of the Ottoman ſceptre? " Where is our military diſcipline? Where " the zeal of our fathers for the propagation " of the faith?" After theſe ironical queſtions, the zeal of Selim was ſoftened. He then ſaid: " I leave my father to judge, whether it would " not be juſt to puniſh the authors of theſe " diſorders, and thoſe who neglected to take " meaſures for preventing them. Unleſs ſpeedy " means are employed to cut up corruption by " the roots, I am afraid we ſhall become ſpec- " tators of the ruin of the empire. And this " evil, which I believe unavoidable, to whom " muſt it be aſcribed?—to the valour of our ene- " mies, or our own ſupineneſs?"

" Ah!" replied the emperor to the meſſenger, " I perceive too well, that my ſon has not " come hither with an intention of ſeeing his " father. He is determined to be emperor, let " it coſt what it may. It is a diſpenſation of " Heaven; I entertain no doubt of it after the " dream which I had laſt night. I beheld my " crown placed on the head of Selim, by the " hands of ſoldiers. It would be impious not " to obey the will of God. I ſubmit to his pro- " vidence, ſince it has ſo ordained: I reſign my " crown to Selim." There was then a conteſt of ſubmiſſion between the father and the ſon. Selim begged that his father would remain in

the palace; and Bajazet perſiſted to refuſe. "The ſame ſcabbard," ſaid he, "cannot ſerve "two ſwords." He cauſed his moſt valuable effects to be packed up; they embraced each other; and Selim received with affection the bleſſing of his father. The old emperor ſet out to depart; but he proceeded ſlowly, like one who quits a favourite ſpot with reluctance, and often caſts a lingering look behind him. Poiſon or grief put an end to his affliction before he had travelled fifteen leagues, and his body was brought back to Conſtantinople. Selim went to meet it in deep mourning, and re-entered the city with a funeral pomp, which reſembled a triumph.

Hiſtorians are not agreed reſpecting the age of Bajazet. Some ſay he was ſixty-two when he died; others, ſeventy-ſeven or eighty. He had reigned thirty two years. No doubt can be entertained reſpecting his attachment to his religion, ſince in the commencement of his reign he preferred to a throne one of the duties which it preſcribes. His ſon, however, accuſed him of indifference in that reſpect; but there are certain circumſtances under which every calumny meets with credit. Even at his death, he gave proofs of his daily attention to its moſt minute practices. Agreeably to the literal interpretation of a precept in the Koran, he cauſed to be carefully collected and preſerved the duſt which adhered to his clothes; giving orders that after his death it ſhould be formed into

a brick, to be placed in his tomb under his arm; that he might preſent himſelf before God, covered with the duſt of the ſhoes of the Lord, and be thus preſerved from the flames of hell. With this ſcrupuloſity of character, he poſſeſſed a love for the ſciences. He was fond of all the arts, and left ſeveral monuments of his taſte in architecture.

Selim, 9th Sultan, 1512

The conduct of Selim towards his father, makes us leſs ſurprized at that which he obſerved towards his brothers. Achmet and Corcul, not ſo much through a deſire of the throne, as of eſcaping death from their barbarous brother, took up arms againſt him. He defeated them both, and delivered them to the executioner. He condemned to death alſo five nephews, and a great many of the nobility, whom he conſidered as not well affected towards his perſon. In a word, he never wanted reaſons nor pretences to iſſue the mandate of deſtruction. One day, having ordered the grand vizier to hoiſt the horſes' tails, and to cauſe the tents to be erected in a convenient ſituation, the vizier aſked him what place he thought moſt eligible. Selim made no other reply than to order him for puniſhment. Another, who received the like orders, and who aſked the ſame queſtion, experienced a ſimilar fate. A third cauſed the tents to be erected towards the four quarters of the world; and Selim, charmed with the idea, ex-

claimed: "The death of two viziers has pro-"cured me a third, ſuch as I want."

Raiſed to the throne by the ſuffrages of the ſoldiers, tired of repoſe, and breathing nothing but war, Selim began to think of gratifying their wiſhes. They had reaſon to be ſatisfied, had the object of their deſire been only to combat. The emperor gave them frequent opportunities of trying their ſtrength with the Perſians; and few wars between theſe rival and neighbouring nations have been ſo bloody. Theſe firſt attempts ended, as is always the caſe, where there is an equality of forces. Great ſlaughter was occaſioned on both ſides, and a peace enſued. Selim, however, obtained ſome provinces, and the ineſtimable advantage of preparing his ſoldiers for the grand expedition which he was planning againſt Egypt. Bajazet had paved the way for him by the ravage he made in Circaſſia, from which the Mamalukes derived their principal force. This war, even at the commencement, aſſumed a character of ferocious obſtinacy, which announced ſome great cataſtrophe; but it affected only the ſoldiers: the people ſuffered very little, becauſe they were neutral in the quarrel. Confined in the chains of the Mamalukes, it was of no importance to them whether they continued to ſtruggle under their load, or exchanged their fetters for thoſe of the Turks.

Cauſual Gauri, chief of the Mamalukes, went

to wait for Selim near Aleppo, in Syria. Victory, which was ready to follow Gauri's ſtandards, did not favour the Turks, but becauſe the Mamaluke was betrayed. He was abandoned by his two principal officers in the very middle of the combat. Incenſed at ſeeing himſelf defeated, he ruſhed among the thickeſt of the battalions; cut down every perſon who oppoſed him; and running from rank to rank, ſpread deſtruction wherever he came, calling out with a loud voice for Selim: but Selim did not appear: and Gauri, imagining that he found him in every ſoldier who came within his reach, made a dreadful ſlaughter. Foaming with rage, and out of breath, he at length fell dead on the bodies of thoſe he had ſlain: and what muſt excite aſtoniſhment, without having received a ſingle wound from ſo many ſwords lifted up againſt him. Tuman Bey, his ſucceſſor, equally brave, and ſtill more unfortunate, had not the honour of dying, like him, in the field of glory with arms in his hand. Having loſt a battle, he defended himſelf two days, and as many nights, in Cairo. He diſputed every ſtreet with the utmoſt obſtinacy, and torrents of blood were ſhed in the ſtruggle. He at laſt ſaved himſelf by flight; but he was taken at ſome diſtance, brought back to the city, and hung before one of the gates.

After this victory, Selim announced an inten-

tion of marching to Jeruſalem. One of his officers, who thought he had ſufficient buſineſs on his hand, aſked him when he meant to proceed thither. It would appear that he aſked this queſtion in a tone which diſpleaſed the emperor, for Selim replied: "When it ſhall pleaſe "God: but for thee, it is my pleaſure that thou "ſhalt remain here." And he immediately ordered him to be beheaded. Selim is the model of deſtroyers. As he imagined that he could not enſure the quiet poſſeſſion of Egypt but by the total extinction of thoſe who had been maſters of it, he cauſed ſtrict ſearch to be made after the Mamalukes. Rewards were promiſed to thoſe who ſhould diſcover any of them; and puniſhment was denounced againſt thoſe who concealed them. When he thought he had them all aſſembled, he cauſed a ſuperb throne to be erected for him on the banks of the Nile, without the walls of Cairo. Theſe unhappy wretches being brought into his preſence, he made them all be butchered before his eyes, and their bodies were thrown into the river. Their number, it is ſaid, amounted to thirty thouſand; and thus he confirmed the juſtneſs of the ſurname which had been given to him, *Yaraz*, the Ferocious. On account of his furious and tyrannical diſpoſition, which did not allow him to make any diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty, nothing was ſeen around him but victims. All mankind

appeared to him to be equally devoted to deſtruction.

Providence, however, freed the earth from this monſter after a reign of nine years. He lived fifty-four, and died in excruciating pain, occaſioned by a cancer in the reins. He is praiſed on account of his vigilance and activity, and for his great care to enforce obedience to the laws. To expreſs the ſolicitude with which he wiſhed to be informed of every thing, it was ſaid proverbially, that "he knew in the morning "what had paſſed over-night between huſband "and wife." At the very laſt moment of his life, he diſplayed a juſtneſs of thought, which forms a ſevere ſatire on the pompous monuments of ſome repenting ſovereigns. One of his pachas, named Piri, happening to viſit him at a time when he experienced remorſe on account of ſome acts of extortion which he had committed in regard to Perſian merchants, adviſed him to employ the money in building an hoſpital for the poor. His reply was: "O Piri, would you "have me employ, through vain glory, in works "of charity, the property I have unjuſtly taken "from others? I never will. Let us endeavour "rather to reſtore it to the lawful owners:" which was accordingly done.

A plain deſcription of the rich jewels which Soliman affixed to his crown—cities, provinces, and kingdoms—gives him an elevated rank among

the moſt powerful monarchs. His battles and victories by land afford him a juſt title to the character of an indefatigable warrior; and the numerous fleets with which he covered the ſeas diſtinguiſh him among thoſe politic princes who have known the utility of rendering themſelves formidable on that element. The combination of his plans, and the wiſdom of his meaſures, prove the extent of his genius, and his great application. From the choice of his generals and miniſters, all able in their way, there is reaſon to conclude, that he poſſeſſed, in regard to the knowledge of men, that acuteneſs and penetration which are ſo neceſſary to ſovereigns. In the laſt place, "To break one egg againſt another "without ſtaining the hands," was a Turkiſh proverb he often employed to expreſs his own ability in paving the way for his ſucceſs, without coſting him any thing, as he took care to embroil his enemies in hoſtilities with one another.

Soliman, 30th Sultan.

On taking poſſeſſion of the Turkiſh empire, ſo prodigiouſly enlarged by Selim his father, Soliman conceived the deſign of extending it as much towards Europe as it was towards Aſia. In regard to this gigantic project, the caſe was the ſame as with the alchemiſts, who, in ſearching for the philoſopher's ſtone, though they fail of their grand object, make ſometimes uſeful diſcoveries. The Turkiſh emperor acquired Eu-

ropean ſtates, which indemnified him for his expenſes, and among which was nearly the whole kingdom of Hungary. This conqueſt was preceded by that of the iſland of Rhodes, which had been gallantly defended by its brave knights, under the command of Villiers de l'ile Adam, their grand-maſter. Soliman ſucceeded, but not without ſacrificing a multitude of men to the ſwords of the knights, who were only few in number. The Turkiſh emperor obſerved with great fidelity the terms of the capitulation. He likewiſe paid great attention to the knights, and reſpect to the grand-maſter, whom he called his father; and obſerving the old man to quit his habitation with a dejected countenance, he ſaid to one of his pachas: "It is not without pain "that I oblige this chriſtian, at his age, to "leave his abode." This ſenſibility does honour to Soliman; but would it not be better had he given no cauſe for ſhowing it?

The emperor, by the acquiſition of Hungary, opened a wide paſſage for himſelf into Europe. Louis, the young king, in endeavouring to ſhut this paſſage, fell a ſacrifice at Mohatz on the Drave. When the head of this unfortunate prince was preſented to Soliman, he averted his eyes, and lamented his fate; but he continued his conqueſts. He had already taken Belgrade, called the bulwark of chriſtendom. He took poſſeſſion of Buda, and puſhed as far as

Vienna, where his efforts miſcarried; but Hungary derived no benefit from this retreat. Having no longer to contend with the enemy within its confines, it found its boſom torn by pretenders to the throne. After the death of the young king, a competition took place between John Sepura, wayvod of Tranſylvania, and Ferdinand, archduke of Auſtria. The former, acknowledged by moſt of the Hungarian nobility, put himſelf under the protection of Soliman; but this unequal alliance deprived of the crown a ſon whom he left in the cradle. The widow, unable to defend herſelf againſt Ferdinand, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Soliman. He flew to the relief of his fair ſuppliant, with the utmoſt tenderneſs; defeated the archduke; made the moſt ſpecious promiſes to the mother, and careſſed the child; but baniſhed both of them to a ſmall town, and declared Hungary a province of his empire. He added to it Tranſylvania, Albania, Wallachia, Moldavia, and ſeveral iſlands of the Archipelago; where he cauſed his flag to be diſplayed under the command of two celebrated naval commanders, Barbaroſſa and Dragut. Soliman at length extended his reputation to both extremities of the world. At the ſame time that he ſubdued Bagdad on the Tigris, faithful to his ally, Francis I, he united on the ocean the Turkiſh creſcent to the oriflame of France, made incurſions into Perſia, and threatened Ger-

many with an invaſion, when he was carried off by death, at the age of ſeventy-four, after a reign of forty-one years, which ſtill ended with a triumph: Zigeth, a town of Hungary, to which he had laid ſiege, ſurrendered at the very moment when he expired.

Soliman had one fault, with which a certain river god is reproached by an ancient poet: too much complaiſance for his wife. Roxalana, with a view to ſecure the empire to her darling ſon Bajazet, inſpired the emperor with ſuſpicions againſt Muſtapha, born of another mother, a prince worthy of eſteem for his excellent qualities. The father, ſeeing only with the eyes of the ſtep-mother, ſent for the unfortunate Muſtapha; and, without ſuffering him to ſpeak, cauſed him to be ſtrangled in his preſence. He was, however, puniſhed for his unjuſt cruelty, by the diſcord which aroſe between Bajazet and Selim, another ſon of Roxalana, who raiſed troops againſt each other. When Soliman wiſhed to effect a reconciliation between them, Bajazet wrote to him an inſolent letter, deſiring that he would not interfere in their quarrel. After Roxalana's death, her favourite fell a victim to the indignation of his father. He fled to Perſia; but the vengeance of Soliman purſued him thither, and found means to ſacrifice him in that foreign empire to the manes of the unfortunate Muſtapha. None of his ſons remained at

the time of his death but Selim, who ſucceeded him. Before Soliman, the Turks had no other laws than certain eſtabliſhed cuſtoms never committed to writing. Theſe Soliman collected, and formed into a code, which is ſtill followed in the Ottoman empire; and he was thence ſtyled the framer of rules, or the legiſlator.

In order to conceal the death of Soliman until the arrival of Selim, who was in his government, the grand-vizier cauſed his phyſicians to be put to death, and all thoſe who had a right to approach him. Thus Selim was the firſt perſon at Conſtantinople, and with the army, who heard of the death of his father. Soliman was declared a martyr, becauſe he had died while carrying on war againſt the infidels; and a conqueror, becauſe his troops, after his death, had taken two cities in his name. Selim's firſt meaſure was to make peace with Germany and Perſia. He detached from the empire of Ruſſia thirty thouſand Nogay Tartars, with whom he peopled the Crimea; and he reduced to obedience Yemen, which had manifeſted ſome ſymptoms of revolt. His conqueſt of the iſland of Cyprus from the Venetians is a celebrated event; but the famous victory which the Venetians gained over the Ottomans in the gulph of Lepanto, has been conſidered by the chriſtians as a compenſation for that advantage. A Turkiſh nobleman, at that period, gave a very juſt idea

of theſe two events: "The loſs of the fleet," ſaid he, "is to Selim what the loſs of the beard "is to a man who has been ſhaved, and whoſe "beard will again grow up. Whereas the loſs "of Cyprus is to the republic like the loſs of an "arm, which, when amputated, can never be "recovered." Selim, indeed, ſoon ſent to ſea another fleet, which aſſiſted to drive the Spaniards from Africa; and to make his authority be recognized at Tunis and Algiers. Since that period the Porte has always enjoyed there more or leſs influence than was obtained by Selim. This prince conducted very few military operations himſelf; but he has nevertheleſs been accounted brave. Nature ſeems to have diſtinguiſhed him from his predeceſſors by mildneſs. He lived in a familiar manner with his domeſtics; and was fond of decent raillery, the converſation of the learned, and farces, and buffoons. He is praiſed for his liberality, clemency, and juſtice. No perſon could be more regular in his devotions, or more ſcrupulous, except in regard to wine, of which he was fond, and in which he freely indulged. This dangerous friend was the cauſe of his death, at the age of fifty-two, after a reign of five months and a half.

The reader muſt no longer expect to find in the Turkiſh hiſtory any of thoſe aſtoniſhing events which, while they excite intereſt, engage

and fix the attention. This empire may be compared to a river, which having frightened, by its frequent inundations, the inhabitants of the adjacent plains, obliges them to take the precaution of confining it within its bed by dykes to defend them from its ravages. In the ſame manner the neighbours of the Turks, inceſſantly haraſſed by them, eſpecially in Europe, erected fortreſſes, like ſo many dykes, againſt their ſudden incurſions; and maintained large armies always in readineſs to oppoſe their invaſions. With regard to Aſia, it may be obſerved, making uſe of the ſame compariſon, that the deſtructive torrent has continued to diffuſe itſelf from time to time even to a diſtance, becauſe it is not confined and repreſſed by the ſame means; but the Turks, being confounded there with people who made no reſiſtance, reſemble a river which loſes itſelf in the ſand, without deſerving that its courſe ſhould be followed. The aſſaults, the battles, and the negociations, being almoſt always the ſame, ſome few ſhades of difference excepted, I ſhall attend only to facts which preſent ſome ſtriking ſingularity, or which have been attended with important conſequences. It is thus poſſible that the life of a Turkiſh emperor, though abundant in warlike deeds and treaties, may be reduced to very few domeſtic events of conſequence.

Such is that of Amurath III. though it laſted fifty-two years, and his reign twenty. He began the latter by an attrocity which ought to be aſcribed, ſay ſome authors, rather to political cuſtom than to any natural inclination to cruelty:—he cauſed his five brothers to be ſtrangled in his preſence; but he could not help ſhedding tears at this tragical ſpectacle. Did policy require that he ſhould be a witneſs of it? The janiſſaries revolted; and it was neceſſary to appeaſe them by a preſent: but, on another occaſion, ſeeing them ſurround his palace, he cauſed the gates to be opened, and fell upon them at the head of his domeſtics. This act of daring boldneſs was attended with ſucceſs; and they returned to their duty. It was, perhaps, to give employment to theſe untractable militia, that Amurath, who it is ſaid was not fond of war, was continually engaged in it againſt the Perſians, often againſt the Germans, and frequently againſt the Venetians. He ſubdued Georgia, which he loſt, and afterwards recovered. He had ſucceſs, and experienced reverſes in his operations againſt the Druſes and Turcomans, as well as in thoſe which he carried on in the Crimea, Wallachia, Croatia, and Tranſylvania; and theſe varieties confirm our obſervation, that boundaries are eſtabliſhed for ever to the invaſions of the Turks. Amurath III. 12th Sultan, 1575

Mahomet III. 13th Sultan, 1595.

Nineteen brothers ſtrangled, and ten concubines pregnant to their father, and all thrown into the ſea, were the firſt events of the reign of Mahomet III. Was this alſo policy? He experienced three revolts of the janiſſaries; two of which were appeaſed by money, and the third by the ſacrifice of his miniſters. He ſaved his mother, whoſe head was demanded by the ſoldiery. She was preſerved by being removed for a time from the government. Too great confidence in the women of his ſeraglio was in this prince an hereditary vice, for Amurath had been reproached with the ſame.

No leſs cruel to his own offspring than he had been to that of his father, Mahomet ſacrificed his eldeſt ſon, a prince of eſtimable qualities, on very ſlight grounds of ſuſpicion. He had no ſhare in the wars of his time, except that of being the cauſe of them. Immerſed in the pleaſures of his ſeraglio, he beſtowed no other attention on public affairs than what he could not deny them. His ſubjects rewarded him properly for his indifference. He was neither feared nor beloved. He died, therefore, very little regretted, in the flower of his age, after a reign of nine years.

Achmet I. 14th Sultan, 1004.

For the firſt time, the reins of the empire were transferred to a minor, being entruſted to Achmet I. only fifteen years of age; but his young

hands did not ſeem to be embarraſſed by them. He began by removing the ſultana, his grandmother, whoſe ambition and intriguing ſpirit had been the cauſe of great uneaſineſs to his father. He had need of firmneſs to re-eſtabliſh, throughout every part of the government, the good order which the weakneſs of Mahomet had ſuffered to be interrupted: but the janiſſaries becoming every day more mutinous, involved him in cares from which he could not free himſelf, except by ſending them to Aſia. Under his reign, thoſe fires, which are now ſo common, began at Conſtantinople. It is ſaid that they never break out but when the people are diſcontented; and that this is the manner in which they make remonſtrances. Under the ſame reign we find the firſt inſtance of that ſubmiſſion with which the great reſign themſelves to the fatal bow-ſtring, on a bare order from the ſultan. The grand-vizier, to whom Achmet owed many obligations, put an end to his days in this manner. He is ſaid not to have been cruel, yet he committed murders in his ſeraglio through jealouſy and brutality. He maintained in it a thouſand females, all chriſtians. He kept in pay forty thouſand men for nothing elſe than hawking; and to unite every extravagance in one, he incruſted the walls of the ſuperb moſque which he cauſed to be built in imitation of St. Sophia with two hundred plates of gold, having

inſcribed on them the name of the prophet, and ſentences ſet round with diamonds, which raiſed the price of each plate to at leaſt fifty thouſand crowns. From this ſpecimen, ſome idea may be formed of his other expenſes. Achmet lived twenty-nine years, and reigned fourteen.

Muſtapha, 15th Sultan, 1617.

He was ſucceeded by his brother, a circumſtance which would do honour to his humanity, did we not know that Muſtapha was indebted for his life to the policy of the great, who ſeeing only theſe two deſcendants of the imperial family, when Achmet mounted the throne obliged him to preſerve his brother. This prince ſhewed himſelf unworthy of the crown, being occupied only with pleaſure. When raiſed to the throne, he had been brought from an apartment in the ſeraglio; at the end of three months he was ſent to priſon in the caſtle of the ſeven towers.

Othman II. 16th Sultan, 1618.

Othman, his nephew, the youngeſt ſon of Achmet, was ſubſtituted in his ſtead. As he was only eight years of age, the janiſſaries ought not to have imputed to him a crime very heinous in their eyes, that of transferring his throne into Aſia, becauſe he was not able to drive them from Conſtantinople, where they haraſſed him by a continual ſpirit of revolt. They not only maſſacred the grand-vizier, whom they believed to be the author of this meaſure, but their fury was extended even to the young emperor. They depoſed him, confined him in priſon, and drew

from it the weak Muſtapha. The firſt meaſure of thoſe who governed under his name was the murder of young Othman, who was ſtrangled at the age of twelve, and in the fourth year of his reign. The uncle derived very little benefit from the misfortune of his nephew. The ſame incapacity which had before deprived him of the throne, made him fall from it once more, but with humiliating circumſtances. He was treated as an idiot; led about upon an aſs, expoſed to the deriſion and inſults of the populace; and then carried back to priſon, where he was ſtrangled by the orders of his ſucceſſor.

This ſucceſſor was Amurath IV. brother of the unfortunate Othman. He at firſt experienced from the janiſſaries the ſame inſults as his brother; but he repreſſed their turbulence as ſoon as he was able to place himſelf at the head of his armies. He then found himſelf free from every kind of rebellion, either on the part of this licentious militia or of his other troops. No emperor was ever ſo abſolute, none was ever ſo much dreaded, and none was ever ſo formidable. It is ſaid, that during the ſeventeen years of his reign, he killed, or cauſed to be killed, fourteen thouſand men. His amuſement was to run about the ſtreets in the night-time with his ſabre in his hand, and to cut down all thoſe whom he met. Sometimes alſo he diſ- Amurath IV. 17th Sultan, 1622.

charged arrows at the paſſengers from the upper windows of his palace. This prince was an expert markſman, an excellent rider, and intrepidly brave. In the field, he gave his ſoldiers an example of frugality, and of abſtinence from every kind of luxury. He uſed only coarſe food, had no other bed than a carpet, and ſlept with his head on his ſaddle. He is praiſed on account of his talents for public buſineſs; and his acute, penetrating, and ſolid judgment.

He had need of theſe qualities, to prevent any misfortune happening to him from his numerous faults, which he did not conceal; and above all drunkenneſs, a vice ſo odious to the muſſulmen. One indeed might have ſaid that he endeavoured to render it honourable, by affecting to make the graveſt characters, judges and miniſters of religion, the companions of his debaucheries. He permitted wine to be ſold publicly, becauſe he was fond of it; but he forbad the ſmoking of tobacco, which he deteſted. He conceived a taſte for wine from the following adventure. Making a tour, in diſguiſe, through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, he obſerved a man rolling on the ground, and exciting the laughter of the populace. Having aſked the reaſon, he was told that the man had drunk too much wine. At the ſame time, the drunken man ſtarted up, and in an imperious tone commanded the em-

peror to ſtand aſide. " What," replied the emperor, " do you command me to ſtand aſide? " I am the ſultan Amurath." " And I," returned the man, " am Muſtapha the drunk. If " you will ſell me this city, I in my turn will be " ſultan Amurath, and you ſhall be Muſtapha the " drunk." " And where is your money to buy " it?" ſaid Amurath. " Don't give yourſelf " any uneaſineſs reſpecting that," continued the drunken man. " I will do more; I will purchaſe " you alſo." He then lay down again, and compoſed himſelf to ſleep.

Amurath ordered him to be carried to the palace. Muſtapha, when he awoke, finding himſelf in a magnificent apartment, did not know whether he was dreaming—whether he was not in paradiſe, and aſked thoſe around him. Being told what had happened, he was filled with terror, eſpecially when he recollected the cruel character of Amurath. After a little reflection, he called for a flaſk of wine, and hid it under his garment. When introduced before the emperor, the prince ſaid: " I muſt have ſo many millions " for the city—where are they?" Muſtapha drew out his flaſk, and replied: " Behold what " might purchaſe Conſtantinople. This trea- " ſure is preferable to all thoſe of the univerſe." The ſultan was ſtruck with the drunken man's humour; taſted the wine; found a genial warmth diffuſe itſelf through every vein; fell aſleep;

awoke with his head a little deranged; drank again by the advice of Muſtapha to cure it; reliſhed the liquor ſo well, that he could never after abſtain from it, and Muſtapha became his principal favourite.

Tiriaki, however, an intrepid ſmoker, frightened by the threatening edicts of Amurath, had formed a cave under the earth, to which he could retire, in order to ſmoke at his eaſe. The emperor, being informed, no doubt, came upon him by ſurprize; and the ſmoker was about to pay dear for his pleaſure, when he exclaimed: "Get thee hence! thy edict was made for the "upper regions; and does not extend to thoſe "below the earth." This ſally ſaved Tiriaki. Amurath was fond of thoſe amuſements which reduced him to a level with the people: to cook; to fetch wine from the taverns, and to drink without ceremony with thoſe whom he met. One imperial pleaſure, in which he indulged ſometimes, was to make droll marriages of women of fourſcore with young men of fifteen or twenty; and of young women with decrepid old men. Amurath left no children. He had one ſtrange whim, which was to be the laſt of the Ottoman race; and for that purpoſe, he intended to put to death his brother Ibrahim; but he gave his orders too late.

Ibrahim, 18th Sultan, 1639.

When the nobles repaired to the priſon in which Ibrahim had languiſhed four years, in a

ſtate between life and death, he barricaded the door, and refuſed to admit them. They were therefore obliged to carry thither his brother's body. This ſight inſpired him with courage; he opened the door, and they placed him on the throne. Ibrahim was as fond of women as his brother had been of wine; but he could not, like him, unite pleaſure with buſineſs. His mother took poſſeſſion of the government, and maintained an aſcendancy over her ſon, by ſupplying him in abundance with ſuch objects as were moſt capable of exciting and keeping alive his licentious paſſions. All thoſe who were deſirous of obtaining his favour, miniſters and generals, vied with each other to procure him the ſame gratification; but he did not confine himſelf to their offerings. A woman of intrigue, by his expreſs order, went about to all the baths to give him an account of the beauties moſt worthy of his notice. Unfortunately, ſhe beſtowed ſuch encomiums on the daughter of the muphti, that the ſultan propoſed to the father to marry her. The muphti, fearing that the emperor's paſſion might be only a tranſient whim, refuſed the proffered honour. Carried away by the impetuoſity of his deſire, Ibrahim cauſed the daughter to be ſeized; ſhut her up ſome days in the ſeraglio, and ſent her back to her father with contempt. This act of violence coſt him his crown and his life. The muphti, in concert with other great

men who were diſſatisfied with the ſultan's effeminacy and his inſignificance in the government, excited a revolt among the janiſſaries. Ibrahim, unable to reſiſt, conſented to be depoſed and confined in his apartment, provided his life were ſaved; but in a few days he was ſtrangled at the age of thirty-two, after having reigned ten years.

Mahomet IV. 19th Sultan, 1649

He was the laſt of the three ſons of Achmet, who reigned after each other; and by a remarkable ſingularity, three of Ibrahim's ſons aſcended the throne in ſucceſſion alſo. Another ſingularity is, that Mahomet reigned with glory for thirty-five years. After ſo long a time, which ought to have eſtabliſhed his power, he was forced to abdicate, and ſurvived his depoſition without being troubled or moleſted in his apartment, which ſerved as his priſon: an uncommon inſtance of the inſtability of human affairs! His exploits are not ſo far diſtant from the preſent period as to be obſcured by the veil of time. Every one muſt recollect the famous ſiege of Candia, which ſubjected the ancient Crete to the dominion of the Creſcent. At the beginning of this century, fathers at Vienna uſed to relate to their children the battles which they had witneſſed under the walls of that city, when the great Sobieſki diſappointed the hopes of the muſſulmen. The arms of Mahomet were, however, more ſucceſsful againſt Buda, the capital

of Hungary. All thoſe parts of Germany which border on the Turkiſh empire were always ravaged by the generals of this emperor, who is accuſed of being incapable either to make peace or carry on war, becauſe his defeats were more frequent than his ſucceſſes. As theſe misfortunes were increaſed during the four laſt years of his life, they ſerved as a pretence for the conſpiracy which deprived him of the diadem.

A miſunderſtanding, occaſioned by the aſcendancy which the grand-vizier had over Mahomet, prevailed among the chief officers of the empire. This miniſter had often abuſed the confidence of his maſter; and to conceal his incapacity, had even cauſed puniſhment to be inflicted on men who were rather entitled to reward. Sinan Pacha, one of the officers deſtined for death to gratify the miniſter's vengeance, took advantage of the diſcontents created among the troops by ſome defeats; and knowing that there was no money in the treaſury, inſtigated them to call for their pay, or the head of the vizier. This miniſter, being alarmed, left the army privately, and was the firſt to inform the emperor of the threatened danger; but things had taken a much worſe turn after his departure. In an aſſembly of the principal chiefs, Sinan had induced them to enter into a reſolution that they would not be ſatisfied with the head of the vizier, but that they ſhould demand the depoſi-

tion of the emperor himſelf. After this revolution, the army began its march towards Conſtantinople, ſending before it a letter, written according to Sinan's views, the purport of which was as follows: "That the army was proceeding to Conſtantinople, not with an intention "of committing any thing that bore the leaſt reſemblance to ſedition, nor of making any attempt againſt the ſacred perſon of his highneſs, but only to demand ſatisfaction for the "treachery and deſertion of the vizier." As the army ſtill approached, it was found neceſſary to give up the unfortunate vizier, who was accordingly maſſacred.

The emperor finding that by this event he was put in poſſeſſion of what he thought ſufficient to gain over Sinan, offered him the place of grand-vizier. The offer was accepted; but Sinan immediately became ſuſpected by the ſoldiers, and with great juſtice; ſince having attained to the object of his deſire, this ambitious man began to do every thing in his power to ſupport him by whom he had been elevated. His deſigns did not eſcape detection. He loſt his credit; and the confidence of the faction was tranſferred to two others, who proceeding ſtraight to the end in view, went at the head of a formidable band, and told the emperor, without ceremony, that he had been depoſed by the body of the lawyers, the militia, and people; and ex-

horted him to quit the ſceptre with a good grace, and reſign it to his brother Soliman. Mahomet liſtened with great coolneſs to this ſummons, and began to enter into an explanation reſpecting his conduct. "I am not come," ſaid the orator, interrupting him abruptly, "to hear "your apology, but to command you in the "name of the muſſulman nation to quit the "throne. There are no other means by which "you can ſave your honour and your life." The diſconſolate emperor replied: "Since it is on "my head that the divine wrath excited by the "ſins of the muſſulmen muſt fall, go tell my "brother, that God has declared his will by the "mouth of the people; and that it now belongs "to him to govern in future the Ottoman em-"pire." After theſe words, he ſhut himſelf up in his apartment, which he never more quitted. He lived fifty-two years, and reigned thirty-five. Mahomet ſcarcely ever commanded his troops in perſon; and this perhaps was the cauſe of the revolt of the ſoldiers, who were not perſonally acquainted with him. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his inclination to mercy. At the time, however, of the revolt, hurried on by the particular circumſtances of the moment, he wiſhed to put to death his brother, that he might deprive the rebels of that reſource; but he was prevented from carrying his deſign into execution.

Soliman II. 20th Sultan, 1685.

When the deputies of the rebellious ſoldiers carried to Soliman his brother's dimiſſion, they were aſtoniſhed to hear from him the following anſwer: "In the name of the immortal God, "why do you thus come to interrupt my repoſe? "Suffer me, I conjure you, to ſpend peacefully, "in my retirement, the few days of life which "ſtill remain. Let my brother continue to go- "vern the empire: it is a right given him by "nature. As for me, I was born only to medi- "tate on the things of eternal life." It was with great difficulty he could be perſuaded to comply with the wiſhes of the military. It was almoſt neceſſary to employ violence, in order to drag him from his priſon. He ſeated himſelf on the throne, not without trembling; and while receiving the uſual congratulations, caſt his eyes around him with an air of uneaſineſs, as if he expected every moment to ſee his formidable brother appear with his mutes and their fatal bow-ſtring. He, however, aſſumed courage, and familiarized himſelf with command.

His firſt care was to confirm Sinan in his dignity of grand-vizier. The miniſter, having now need only of obedience, endeavoured to appeaſe the rebellion of the chiefs who had co-operated with him in the revolt; but the latter, ſeeing themſelves expoſed to be puniſhed by their former accomplice, excited the janiſſaries againſt him. They repreſented him as a conſpirator,

and an enemy to Soliman, whom he wiſhed, they ſaid, to dethrone. Sinan was attacked in his palace. He made an obſtinate defence; but was at length overpowered, and hacked to pieces. The perſon appointed to ſucceed him, by the favour of the janiſſaries, who preſcribed to the emperor whom he ſhould chooſe, ſoon fell into diſcredit, becauſe he endeavoured to divide that mutinous body, in order to weaken them. They, however, perceived his ſtratagem, gueſſed the object he had in view, and maſſacred him. The people, during this inſurrection, proceeded to exceſſes before unknown among the Turks. They violated, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the ſanctuary of the ſeraglio; carried out the women, and dragged them naked through the ſtreets. After this act of licentiouſneſs, nothing was reſpected, and the pillage of the opulent became general.

The *ulema*, that is, the body of the lawyers, who, by their murmurs, had contributed to the degradation of the imperial dignity, and to the diſorders which enſued, having aſſembled, hoiſted the ſtandard of Mahomet, and diſpatched couriers to every quarter to ſummon the muſſulmen who wiſhed to avoid the imputation of being infidels to range themſelves under it. They flocked thither in crowds. Others aſſign a different cauſe for this union, which put an end to the ſedition. After five months anarchy, dur-

ing which the janiſſaries put to death thoſe who diſpleaſed them, created and deſtroyed pachas at their pleaſure, a trifle, it is ſaid, made them all return to their duty. Four janiſſaries, availing themſelves of their uſual right, ſtole a few handkerchiefs in a ſhop. The merchants, tired of theſe acts of pillage, took up arms, and killed two of the thieves. An emir, that is to ſay, a deſcendant of Mahomet, a plain individual, affixed a white linen cloth to the end of a pole, and cried out: "Let every true muſſulman repair to the ſeraglio, to beg the ſultan to hoiſt "the ſtandard of the prophet, in order that the "rebels may be exterminated." Among this multitude, aſſembled round the ſacred ſtandard, there was certainly a great number of the moſt zealous promoters of the revolt; yet when the emperor aſked them what had brought them thither, and what they wanted, they all exclaimed, that they wiſhed to ſee put to death the chiefs of the mutinous militia, their firſt inſtigators. They were immediately given up, and puniſhed on the ſpot. The multitude then diſperſed, and each retired quietly to his home. Commerce and buſineſs regained their uſual courſe; and the city, which had been ſo much diſtracted for eight months, aſſumed an aſpect of tranquillity. It appears that theſe happy effects were owing rather to the laſſitude of the people, than the prudence of the government. The pro-

vinces, which had been agitated in conſequence of the troubles in the capital, were reſtored to a ſtate of peace alſo.

Soliman had been only a ſpectator of the ſtorm. Like a navigator, ſhut up in his veſſel, he ſuffered himſelf to be buffeted by the waves, without taking any ſhare in the management of it; happy if a favourable gale made it advance towards port: but the mahometan horizon was far from enjoying that ſerenity which the indolence of Soliman deſired. He had to ſupport a diſaſtrous war againſt Germany and Venice. The misfortunes it occaſioned were attended with the moſt ruinous conſequences, and induced the ſultan to make ſecret propoſals for peace. The court of Vienna did not know how to take advantage of the circumſtances of the moment; it inſiſted on too high terms; and whilſt ſtarting objections to the favourable conditions offered by the Ottoman court, it ſaw appear Kiopſuli Muſtapha pacha, who regenerated the empire.

This man had taken no farther ſhare in the late troubles than what was conſiſtent with his own ſafety. When they ſubſided, he was raiſed to the office of caimacan, or governor, of Conſtantinople, on account of his talents, and the need which the ſultan had of them; but affairs taking a more ſerious turn, he was appointed grand-vizier. As ſoon as inſtalled, he aſſembled a council, compoſed of the great officers of the

empire, and aſked whether it would be moſt prudent to make peace or to carry on the war. The muphti, who ſpoke firſt, declared for peace. The greater part of the reſt adopted his opinion, and informed the grand-vizier that there were private envoys at the court of Vienna who had been charged to enter into a negociation on that ſubject. "I am not aſtoniſhed at this intelli- "gence," replied Kiopruli warmly, "when I "conſider the manner in which you have "conducted yourſelves for ſeven years in re- "gard to the Germans. During that time, I "have obſerved nothing but want of capacity "in the generals; blindneſs in the counſellors; "and among the people of the law, corruption "of heart, or baſe ſouls ſubject to the control "of fear. The viziers and ſeraſkiers have been "occupied only in aſſembling numerous armies; "and the counſellors in filling the ſultan's cof- "fers, let it coſt what it might. The *ulema*, ſa- "tisfied with their rich revenues, and with en- "joying the ſweets of repoſe, gave themſelves "little trouble whether the empire was well or "ill governed, or to reform the manners and "morals of the people—the ſources of the pre- "ſent calamities. They aſſented, therefore, to "the firſt propoſals for peace; and in ſome "meaſure compelled the mahometans to ac- "cept it. When it pleaſed God, incenſed by "repeated acts of infidelity, to remove the peace

" which was propoſed on honourable terms,
" they had recourſe to their ancient method of
" blaming the ſultans, though the whole evil
" aroſe from themſelves. After this, is it ſur-
" prizing that God ſhould have denied aſſiſt-
" ance to the muſſulmen? The promiſes of our
" prophet ſuppoſe certain previous conditions:
" pure hearts in the ſoldiers; the practice of
" good works; and the love of juſtice in thoſe
" who preſide over the government of the
" people. All theſe virtues have been baniſhed
" from among us; but give me only twelve
" thouſand true followers of the Koran, men of
" pure hearts and minds, and I hope, with the
" aſſiſtance of God, to humble the infidels, how-
" ever numerous their armies."

After this ſevere cenſure, which was directly applicable to the greater part of thoſe who heard him, Kiopruli cauſed them to enter into a reſolution to continue the war. He broke off the negociation at Vienna; and made every poſſible exertion to collect a ſtrong army, and to ſupply it with ammunition. The treaſury was abſolutely exhauſted. He examined with ſeverity the expenditure of the public money; raiſed contributions from thoſe who were able to bear taxation; aboliſhed all exemptions and other abuſes; cauſed to be paid into the treaſury thoſe ſums which the pachas, clerks, and collectors, had fraudulently withheld from it, and increaſed

it by donations or legacies of money, which ſuperſtitious devotion had formerly bequeathed to the colleges of the imans. The chief iman conſidered this action as a ſacrilege; but Kiopruli replied, that the riches deſtined for religious uſes ought to be employed in wars of religion.

This pious motive was of wonderful uſe to him in forming his army. Before his time, force had been employed in procuring recruits. Kiopruli, on the contrary, declared, that as he intended to entruſt the command to no one but himſelf, he would receive no ſoldier who had been enliſted by violent means: "I ſhall only "remind the muſſulmen," ſaid he, "that by "the command of God, and his holy prophet, "no one is allowed to ſhun martyrdom, and to "deſpair of ſucceſs when arms are taken up to "defend the law, and to extirpate the infidels. "Every good muſſulman, therefore," added he, "who in his conſcience believes himſelf obliged "to follow that law, has only to come and enliſt "if he is diſpoſed to endure every thing for the "faith. He, on the other hand, who doubts, "or who fears to expoſe himſelf to martyrdom, "or who has indiſpenſable buſineſs ſufficient to "excuſe him before God, may remain at home. "There, after having purified himſelf from all "his ſins, he ought to endeavour, by his prayers, "to obtain the bleſſing of God for the arms of "the empire: and even if he ſhould belong to

" the military profeſſion, he ſhall neither be " ſought for nor puniſhed, but ſhall receive his " pay in the ſame manner as if he were in the " army." No perſon wiſhed to be exempted; and by one ſentence of the Koran, the vizier, in a ſhort time, raiſed more and better ſoldiers than had been procured by the ſtratagem, violence, and threats, before employed to complete the armies.

Kiopruli kept his word; put himſelf at the head of the main army; and while the other officers, as if they had already felt his influence, began to obtain advantages, in order to inſpire confidence into his troops by ſome brilliant action, he proceeded to lay ſiege to Belgrade. He took that fortreſs, and was preparing to proſecute his ſucceſs, when fear of the ſudden death of the ſultan, who was attacked by the dropſy, recalled him to Conſtantinople. That prince died at the age of fifty-two, in the fourth year of his reign. No emperor ever equalled him in obſervance of the law; though poſſeſſed of very little genius, he read a great deal; he was extremely ſimple in his manners, and much fitter for a derviſe than an emperor.

Achmet II. a brother worthy of Soliman, had as little judgment, and as little influence in the government. This prince never made uſe of his reaſon; he approved every meaſure the moment it was propoſed to him; and nothing,

Achmet II. 21ſt Sultan, 1691.

therefore, could be ſo ſtable as his government. Kiopruli placed him on the throne, that he might not behold there Mahomet IV. who was ſtill in life, or his ſon Muſtapha, either of whom might have avenged himſelf for the indirect part which the grand-vizier had taken in the depoſition of the former. Scarcely had Kiopruli rendered this ſervice to Achmet, when he was expoſed to the danger of being rewarded by diſgrace: he was extricated from this danger by his courage and reſolution. He began then to think of ſupporting his authority by ſome new ſucceſs; and putting himſelf at the head of his army, marched in queſt of the enemy on the banks of the Danube. When, on the point of obtaining a victory, he received a ball in the head and fell. This accident diſcouraged the Turks, and they abandoned the field of battle, from which they could with difficulty carry off their dying general. When Achmet had no longer Kiopruli to fix his wavering reſolution, he liſtened to every advice that was given him. The one deſtroyed the other: but this was of little importance. The caſe was the ſame with counſellors, and particularly grand-viziers; he changed them as he did his reſolutions; and public affairs were conducted merely by chance: he was, however, ſuffered to remain at the head of them, on account of his bad health, and becauſe his diſſolution was daily expected. He

at length died at the age of fifty, after a reign of four years. This is all that can be ſaid of him as a ſovereign. As an individual, we may obſerve, that he was of a cheerful diſpoſition, lively, and agreeable; a poet and muſician; poſſeſſed of a happy temper, and incapable of doing injury. If Soliman his brother was fit only for a derviſe, Achmet, at leaſt, in private life, would have formed a very amiable character.

Muſtapha II. young and active, ſeemed to give new life to the empire, which had languiſhed under his predeceſſors. The care which he took, and the exertions he made, to form the troops under his own eye, inſpired the nation with the greateſt hopes. He declared that he would lead the army againſt the enemy himſelf: he did ſo, but to meet with a more diſgraceful and more complete defeat than ever the Turks had experienced. This misfortune induced the ſultan to ſue for peace. Though it was equally deſired by the emperor of Germany, and the other confederate princes, the preliminaries were not eaſily ſettled, as each power, through a point of honour, was unwilling to make the firſt overtures. Mauro Cordato, the chief interpreter of the Porte, removed this obſtacle by deceiving their vanity. According to the Perſian proverb, that a lie which ſettles a negociation is much better than a truth which involves it in difficulty, he preſented himſelf to each of the parties,

Muſtapha II. 22d Sultan, 1695.

as commiſſioned to ſolicit peace for the reſt; and when he had thus brought the buſineſs into a proper train, without any detriment to the point of honour, he ſmoothed the other difficulties, and was the happy inſtrument of a peace, which was highly neceſſary to both empires.

Being freed from this war, ſo ruinous, the ſultan, like his brother Mahomet, thought of nothing but enjoyment. He gave himſelf up to the chace, and left the government to his miniſters, and particularly the grand-vizier. He was however deceived; public buſineſs was badly conducted, and the people began to murmur. Muſtapha ſupported his vizier; but being forced to abandon him, he ſhewed as much obſtinacy in regard to his ſucceſſor, though neither abler nor honeſter, and employed only in increaſing his own fortune. Under a negligent prince cabals are formed at court; and the hatred of the people becomes more inveterate. What in other countries is attended only with loſs of favour, occaſions at the Porte the death of rivals; but theſe murders incenſe the partiſans of the unhappy victims. It is very uncommon, therefore, to ſee a reconciliation effected between them. The grand-vizier wiſhed to get rid of the muphti. The muphti overturned the grand-vizier; and the friends of the latter laid a plan to entrap the muphti and the new grand vizier his protector.

By an inconceivable error, in this ſtate of fer-

ment, the muphti and the vizier neglected to pay the troops: they therefore revolted, and took up arms at Conſtantinople. This mutiny was concealed from the ſultan, who daily went out on his hunting excurſions in the environs of Adrianople. He believed it to be only a trifling affair, till he learned that the whole army was at the gates. The janiſſaries, as uſual, ſent to inform him that they had not taken up arms to fight againſt him, nor againſt the muſſulmen, but to ſummon his unfaithful miniſters before the tribunal of the Koran, and to oblige them to ſubmit to a judicial examination; that if he employed the ſword, in an affair of this nature, they would repel force by force; and that he alone would be reſponſible for the blood which might be ſhed. After ſome difficulty, the ſultan gave up the muphti, and a few others, whom they maſſacred, by ſubjecting them to the moſt horrid tortures: but, while the emperor was deliberating, the mutineers, certain that they might ſome day be puniſhed by a prince whom they had ſo grievouſly offended, if they ſuffered him to remain on the throne, wrote to the ſultan Achmet his brother, and invited him to repair to the army.

Muſtapha intercepted the letter, which threw him into great perplexity. There were two meaſures to be purſued: either to reſign the crown to his brother, or to put him to death, in

order to deprive the rebels of this reſource. Muſtapha's humanity revolted againſt ſo unnatural an action. He went in queſt of his brother; embraced him with the tendereſt affection; informed him that he was invited to mount the throne; ſaluted him emperor; and ſaid on taking leave—"Remember, brother, that I ſuffered "you to live in perfect freedom. I beg you will "behave in the ſame manner towards me; but "never forget what thoſe traitors are who have "been the inſtruments of your elevation. If "you leave their crime unpuniſhed, they will "not fail to treat you in the like manner." After this advice he ſhut himſelf up in the apartment which his brother had quitted; but grief put an end to his days in the courſe of ſix months, after he had reigned almoſt eight years. This prince, attached to his religion, was neither avaricious nor prodigal. He was a friend to juſtice; but reprehenſible for not having retained after the peace that activity which he ſhewed during the war, and for ſuffering himſelf to be ruled by miniſters whoſe bad conduct occaſioned his fall.

Achmet III. 23d Sultan, 1705.

His ſucceſſor, Achmet III. did not forget his brother's counſel. It is eſtimated, that in five months he diſpatched more than fourteen thouſand ſoldiers, who had taken the greateſt ſhare in the rebellion, without including a great number of officers and pachas. They were carried

away in the night-time, and drowned in the Boſphorus. Theſe executions of thoſe who were moſt intimately connected with the people, and who kept them in agitation, re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in the city; but they did not baniſh from court thoſe intrigues and cabals which in that reign produced changes of the miniſtry, depoſitions, and frequent ſentences of death againſt the great. The affairs of the empire went on, however, in their uſual train: that is to ſay, they were conducted more according to the intereſt of the miniſters than as became the glory of the empire. Some think that they can diſcover this fault in what took place with regard to Charles XII. king of Sweden, who when beat by the Ruſſians threw himſelf into the arms of Achmet. The grand-vizier, it is ſaid, was bribed by Ruſſian gold to refuſe ſuccour to that monarch.

Notwithſtanding the intereſted condeſcenſion of the Turkiſh miniſters, a war broke out between the Porte and Ruſſia: that with Germany and Venice was alſo re-kindled. Another was carried on in Perſia; and, though theſe military expeditions were not always unſucceſsful, they reduced the empire to a ſtate of general weakneſs, which was felt, above all, in the capital. Scarcity and dearneſs of proviſions; the want of trade; the burden of the troops, who in going from Europe to the army of Perſia behaved in

Conſtantinople as in a conquered city; all tended to irritate minds which only waited for an opportunity of ſhewing their diſpleaſure. To this may be added the diſcontent of the troops, who threw the blame of their defeats on their chiefs; the ſecret intrigues of a few of the members of the law, and of ſome preachers, who were diſſatisfied with the miniſters. Such were the cauſes of a revolt which dethroned Achmet, after a reign of twenty-ſeven years.

This enterprize was undertaken by three obſcure men. One of them named Patrona, becauſe he had ſerved in the navy on board a galley called the Patrona, was a ſeller of old clothes; Emir-Hali, the ſecond, was in no very high ſituation; and Muſlu, the third, ſold fruit. The latter, a doctor among the Turkiſh populace, poſſeſſed ſome eloquence, becauſe he could read and write. All the three were janiſſaries. Patrona firſt opened the buſineſs to the other two, whom he found diſpoſed to ſecond him. Each aſſociated with himſelf three others. This band of twelve divided themſelves into three, and each marched through the ſtreets, with their ſwords drawn, and a flag diſplayed, calling out: "Shut "your ſhops. Let every good muſſulman follow "us to the grand ſquare, where they will be "informed of the juſt complaints we have to "make againſt the miniſter."

Theſe cries brought a crowd around them;

and it ſoon increaſed by the abſence of thoſe who might have checked the progreſs of the rebellion. The ſultan and the vizier were engaged in their pleaſures; and the governor was planting tulips at his country retreat. The head of the courts of juſtice was alſo at one of his villas, and treated as a trifle the intelligence which was brought to him. The grand-vizier's lieutenant had diſappeared. The aga of the janiſſaries alone ſet out with his ordinary guard to march againſt the rebels; but finding it impoſſible to oppoſe them, he fled to conceal himſelf, without even informing the ſultan or the vizier of what had taken place. When they learned the truth, they returned to Conſtantinople, but it was now too late. Some troops whom they wiſhed to lead againſt the rebels refuſed to obey; and they were therefore obliged to have recourſe to negociation.

Achmet ſent to aſk the rebels what they deſired. They replied that the grand-vizier, his lieutenant, and the governor, together with his two ſons-in-law and the muphti, muſt be delivered up to them; that in other reſpects they were ſatisfied with his highneſs, and wiſhed him every happineſs. The emperor begged they would be contented with their diſmiſſal; but the mutineers would not agree. As they inſiſted on their demand with threats, Achmet reluctantly determined to ſacrifice the three victims. They

were accordingly ſtrangled, and their bodies delivered to the enraged multitude; but the latter did not mean to ſtop after having proceeded ſo far. To ſuffer Achmet to reign after committing theſe exceſſes, would have been expoſing themſelves to his vengeance. The puniſhment he inflicted on the rebels who had ſeated him on the throne, was an excellent leſſon for thoſe who wiſhed to depoſe him. They endeavoured therefore to find out a pretence for depriving him of the crown. This pretence was, that though they aſked for the three criminals alive, they had been ſent to them dead; and for this reaſon they inſiſted on the ſultan's demiſſion.

It is believed that they were directed in their proceedings by Iſpiri Zadé, chaplain in ordinary to the court, who under a ſimple and devout air concealed the moſt unbounded ambition. He had been loaded with favours by the grand-ſeignior; yet he did not heſitate to engage to perform the moſt odious part in the revolution. When the ſultan perceived him, he thought he ſaw a friend, and aſked him: "Are the rebels "appeaſed? Why do they not retire? I have "done more for them than I ought. What do "they wiſh farther?" "My lord," replied Zadé, with a modeſt look, "thy reign is ended. "Thy ſubjects will no longer acknowledge thee "as emperor." "Why did you not tell me

" ſooner," replied the ſultan in a paſſion ; " you " who came hither every day ?" Without any more deliberation, he then ran to find his nephew, the ſon of Achmet II. laid hold of his hand, and conducting him into the imperial chamber, placed him on the throne. " Remember," ſaid he, " that your father loſt the throne which I " this day reſign to you, and that I now loſe it " only becauſe we repoſed too much confidence " in our viziers. Had I conferred on them leſs " authority, and had I demanded from them a " more exact account of the affairs of the em- " pire, I ſhould perhaps have finiſhed my reign " with as much glory as I began it. Adieu. " I wiſh your's may be happier. I recommend " to you my ſon and my own perſon." He then retired to the apartment which had been occupied by his nephew.

Achmet III. was the third ſultan depoſed in leſs than a century, and depoſed in the capital. It is aſtoniſhing that the example of the firſt, who was ſubjected to that diſmal fate, did not afford a ſalutary leſſon to the reſt ; and that on the appearance of the firſt ſpark of ſedition they did not retire into the provinces where they might have collected around them troops and ſkilful commanders, by whoſe aſſiſtance they might have been able to extinguiſh the flames. Achmet, however, was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs political knowledge and ability ; he applied to

buſineſs; but he had two ruling paſſions—the love of women, and the love of money. By the one he was lulled into the inactivity of voluptuouſneſs; and by the other, deprived of the ſervice of thoſe hireling agents whoſe diſcoveries are neceſſary to a ſovereign, to enable him to regulate his conduct in the ſtormy times of turbulence.

Mahomet V. 24th Sultan, 1730.

Mahomet being conducted to the throne, ſent for thoſe by whoſe means he had been placed upon it. Patrona appeared with his legs bare as when he uſed to ſell old clothes, and in the habit of a janiſſary. The ſultan aſked in what manner he wiſhed to be rewarded. "Since thy "ſoul is open to gratitude," ſaid Patrona, "I "demand from thee ſome ſplendid proof of it. "Aboliſh inſtantly thoſe impoſts under which "the empire now groans." The emperor immediately cauſed to be proclaimed the abolition of a very burthenſome tax, impoſed by his predeceſſor; and, at the ſame time, announced the uſual gratification to the troops. Patrona required that the new levies ſhould have a ſhare of it. When this meaſure was known, it cauſed a great multitude, induced by the temptation, to range themſelves under the imperial ſtandards. Old and young, infirm perſons, and men abſolutely incapable of military ſervice, might be ſeen haſtening thither to get their names enrolled. All the treaſures of the ſultan would ſcarcely

have been ſufficient to pay them. The lieutenant of the aga of the janiſſaries made, therefore, ſome remonſtrances; Patrona gave evident ſigns that they diſpleaſed him; the officer was maſſacred, and the money was diſtributed with the utmoſt prodigality, and in the greateſt confuſion.

This violence gave Mahomet reaſon to apprehend, that if he ſuffered theſe men to remain in Conſtantinople they might make him pay too dear for the ſervice they had rendered to him. The council endeavoured to deviſe means for removing them. The emperor propoſed to Patrona the government of Natolia, and the title of pacha. He, however, begged to be excuſed on account of his profound ignorance. The aga of the janiſſaries, thinking to gratify the prince as well as Patrona, propoſed to give the latter a hundred thouſand ſequins, and to let him retire wherever he thought proper. "I have no need "of money," replied the haughty janiſſary; "if "I deſired it, all the purſes of Conſtantinople "are at my ſervice:" and caſting a furious look at the aga, he had the boldneſs to ſay to him, in the preſence of the emperor: "Never interfere "with any thing that concerns me, if you wiſh "to eſcape the fate of your lieutenant."

This want of reſpect confirmed the emperor in his deſign of removing to a diſtance this rebel; but Patrona, who perceived it, redoubled his audacity. The grand-vizier cauſed a procla-

mation to be iſſued to the troops; that as it was contrary to law to march with arms through the towns in the time of peace, they ought to lay them immediately down. The rebels deſpiſed theſe orders: and Patrona and his accomplices appeared every day at the divan armed with large cimeters; ſeated themſelves in a familiar manner cloſe to the grand ſeignior; adminiſtered juſtice in defiance of him; gave away places, and obliged him to confer offices of diſtinction on their creatures. One day he met a butcher who had formerly ſupplied him with meat on credit. Patrona gave him a thouſand ſequins, and ſaid: "Don't you wiſh to outlive me?" "No," replied the butcher. "Well then," added Patrona, "go tell the vizier that he muſt "create you prince of Moldavia, in the room of "Gregorio Giffa, with whom we are diſſatiſ-"fied." The grand-vizier durſt not refuſe; and the new prince was admitted to kiſs his highneſs's hand.

Patrona, encouraged by this ſucceſs, declared himſelf aga of the janiſſaries. It was ſoon known that he aimed at nothing leſs than to make Muſlu, the only one among them who could read, grand-vizier; another, governor of the city; and himſelf captain-pacha, or high-admiral. Theſe exorbitant pretenſions deprived the rebels of many partiſans, even among the janiſſaries. Zadé, the preacher, who conducted the revolu-

tion, had detached himſelf from them, when his ſervices were rewarded by the grand-ſeignior by an honourable and lucrative employment. Patrona, Muſlu, and Hali, intoxicated with their power, were the only perſons who did not perceive that they were daily expoſing themſelves to the danger of loſing it. It is not known what they meant to propoſe in a divan or council of ſtate, which they appointed under the expreſs condition that a few perſons only ſhould be admitted into it. The grand-ſeignior, whom they had emboldened, convoked the council in the form which the three tyrants required. They aſſembled, accompanied by forty banditti, whom they called the *forlorn hope*. They made the eſcort halt under the porch of the inner court. The rebels entered the divan with their uſual audacity, and were received with the honours to which they had been accuſtomed. The grand-vizier opened the ſitting by a diſtribution of employments to the rebels and their creatures. While they were enjoying the pleaſure of ſeeing their wiſhes even anticipated, on a ſignal agreed, men placed behind each of them plunge their poniards into their backs, repeat their blows, and lay them all dead on the pavement. The *forlorn hope* were then called in five by five; and in that manner were butchered. Next morning, carriages loaded with the bodies of theſe unfortunate wretches were ſeen coming

out from the ſeraglio, preceded by men who proclaimed aloud: "Such ſhall be the fate of all "thoſe who dare to rebel againſt our moſt puiſ-"ſant monarch." They were applauded by the people; the janiſſaries teſtified their joy; and without any public order, this event occaſioned a general rejoicing throughout the city.

The Ottoman empire, both in Aſia and Europe, is compoſed only of conquered nations. Few of them are intereſted in the preſervation of its integrity; and there are none really attached to the government, but the great who command, the ſoldiers who are paid, and, in general, thoſe whom the police or religion inveſt with authority. The word country is there unknown, and the provinces are very indifferent in regard to what is paſſing in the capital. There is nothing but commerce which could unite theſe nations, ſo diſſimilar in manners, cuſtoms, opinions, and religious principles; but the merchants, inſtead of being protected, are expoſed to innumerable acts of oppreſſion on the part of the Turkiſh governors; and, above all, the Jews, who experience under the Turkiſh dominion that harſh treatment which, as we ſhall ſee, they have been accuſtomed to among all nations through a long ſeries of ages.

Jews.

A nation which for eighteen centuries has exiſted amidſt contempt, hatred, and bad treatment from all the reſt; groaning under the ſevereſt captivity; a prey to cruelty and perſecution; devoted to inſult and ignominy; haraſſed and tormented; the perpetual object of violence and injuſtice; a victim to the moſt diſtreſſing calamities, and always inundated by rivers of its own blood which has been ſhed, deſerves not to be loſt in the wide field of hiſtory. Its misfortunes, collected into one point of view, will exhibit a kind of prodigy which ariſes from the perpetuity of its exiſtence amidſt the moſt effectual cauſes of deſtruction.

First and ſecond centuries.

The Jews, to elude the prophecy, which foretold that the Meſſiah ſhould be born when the ſceptre paſſed from Judah, ſay that it remained during the Babyloniſh captivity among the chiefs choſen to govern them under the name of the princes of the captivity. When they loſe the traces of theſe pretended kings, they commit the ſovereign authority into the hands of their high-prieſts at Jeruſalem; and after the deſtruction of that city, to the *ſanhedrim*, or ſupreme council; which, with the permiſſion of the Romans, they eſtabliſhed at Tiberias. The chiefs of it, they ſay, were called *patriarchs* of *Judea*. They preſent a liſt of them, the names in which are not ſupported by any authentic

chronology; and when the legal power diſappears by the annihilation of theſe patriarchs, the Jewiſh doctors place the power on their ſynagogues; which indeed contained men of learning and merit, but not kings. It is pretended, that the Jews who eſcaped maſſacre under Titus, carried the race of David to Spain.

Under Trajan, the Jews, tired of ſupporting the Roman yoke, revolted in Lybia, the iſland of Cyprus, and Meſopotamia. They put to death more than two hundred thouſand men; but the cruel repriſals made upon them are ſuppoſed to have occaſioned the deſtruction of ſeveral millions. Notwithſtanding this horrid devaſtation, a prodigious multitude of zealots aſſembled, under Antoninus, around an impoſtor named Barchocheba, or the Sun of the Star, who gave himſelf out for the Meſſiah. He had a precurſor named Akiba, chief of the ſanhedrim, who by his reputation greatly contributed to procure credit to the miſſion of his meſſiah. The number of men capable of bearing arms amounted to more than two hundred thouſand. He cauſed himſelf to be crowned king at Bidher. The banditti of the neighbouring countries flocked to his ſtandards, and increaſed his army to an alarming ſize. The meſſiah maſſacred Romans and chriſtians, and every Jew who would not acknowledge his authority; but he was at length killed in a breach of his ca-

pital, beſieged by Tinnius Rufus, a Roman general. His precurſor Akiba was flayed alive with an iron comb. Five hundred and eighty thouſand Jews periſhed by the ſword, famine, or miſery. Adrian rebuilt the temple of Jeruſalem; but not on their account, as they were excluded from it. On the contrary, he endeavoured to render it unclean, by cauſing idols to be placed in it, and by offering up impure ſacrifices. This emperor imagined he could reduce the Jews to ſubmiſſion by oppreſſing them; but they only burſt their chains the ſooner. He made them pay a certain tax for permiſſion to behold their holy city even at a diſtance, to circumciſe their children, and to read their ſacred books. They remained, however, ſtill more attached to their religion.

Third and fourth centuries.

They were confirmed in their attachment by the learned men who at that time appeared, and whoſe works are ſtill in eſteem. Judah, ſurnamed the Holy, who was at the head of the academy of Tiberias, compiled the Miſna, a collection of laws, which is the civil and eccleſiaſtical code of the Jews; and his ſon Hikel compoſed a calendar in ſuch a manner that it might not appear that Jeſus Chriſt was the Meſſiah. The whole attention of the Jews was divided between two objects, the ſcience and the practice of religion. Speculative ſtudy produced among them a multitude of ſects, who anathematiſed each other, according to the uſual cuſ-

tom. The liberty of practice, which was claimed by theſe untractable people, hurried them on ſometimes to revolt. They were haraſſed under Antoninus, hated by Marcus Aurelius, favoured by Severus, made to tremble under Caracalla, in danger under Heliogabalus, conſoled by the protection of Alexander Severus, and pretty quiet under the ſucceeding emperors.

It will not appear aſtoniſhing that they ſhould be favoured by Julian the Apoſtate, in order to mortify the chriſtians. Valens and Valentinian were ſo cruel as to let looſe the hatred of the people againſt the Jews by unfavourable edicts; but it was repreſſed by Theodoſius I.

Fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh centuries.

Was the inveterate hatred of all nations againſt the Jews, which occaſioned the ſhedding of ſo much blood, owing to any fault of theſe deſcendants of Abraham? To their intolerance, pride, or peeviſhneſs? Or was it owing to the fault of other nations, prejudiced againſt an excluſive enthuſiaſm, the conſequence of education and internal conviction? It may be replied, that there were faults on both ſides; but the unfortunate Jews, whether the aggreſſors or attacked, always ſuffered the puniſhment. Every year they were accuſtomed to celebrate their deliverance by Mordecai, the uncle of Eſther, and to hang Haman on a gallows. Under Theodoſius II. they affixed the image to a croſs, which they carried about in proceſſion and then burnt; and

the chriſtians always conſidered this action as done in deriſion of Jeſus Chriſt. It ſometimes occaſioned tumults which ended in maſſacre and murder. Matters were carried ſtill farther at Alexandria, where the Jews were numerous and exceedingly rich. The protection of Oreſtes, the governor, had rendered them enterprizing. Cyrill the patriarch put himſelf at the head of the chriſtians. This quarrel did not end without great cruelties on both ſides; and the reſult on ſuch occaſions, was that the property of the ſynagogues was united to that of the churches, which gave riſe to eternal diſputes.

The Jews have had flouriſhing ſeminaries in Perſia, and in that country they have been expoſed alſo to the moſt violent perſecutions. They, however, maintained themſelves in a ſtate of opulence, which indeed ſometimes brought upon them bad treatment and ſometimes procured them reſpect which they were obliged to purchaſe. Mahomet entertained for them the utmoſt contempt, and endeavoured to inſpire the ſame ſentiments into his followers. Did the Jews revolt in Paleſtine and Syria, at Tyre and Cæſarea, becauſe they were oppreſſed? Or were they oppreſſed becauſe they revolted? This is a problem difficult to be reſolved. An impoſtor, named Julian, gave himſelf out in Paleſtine to be the Meſſiah, and was followed by a great number of unhappy wretches whom he

miſled and who were all exterminated. In Spain and in France they experienced the double misfortune of being anathematiſed by the councils and perſecuted by the ſovereigns. They poſſeſſed at Arles a great deal of power, which they abuſed, and were expelled from Provence and Languedoc. Impriſonment, extortion, and baniſhment, were oftener employed againſt them in theſe countries than any other ſeverities or death. A cruel favour, ſince the innocent wife and children were puniſhed, like the criminal huſband, by the moſt dreadful poverty and diſtreſs.

Eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

It appears that the Jews were eſteemed by many of the caliphs, who kept them at their court as phyſicians, aſtrologers, and men of letters. This favour was extended to the whole nation. Theſe princes entruſted them with the management of their revenues, and found it advantageous to their intereſt: but the people, haraſſed by theſe financiers, did not much applaud their choice; and their murmurs often authorized the princes to ſqueeze theſe ſponges to the benefit of their treaſuries. As if exile and baniſhment had not been ſufficient to ruin them, to theſe were added the falſe zeal of voluntary deſertion. A Jew named Serenus perſuaded his brethren in Spain that he was the Meſſiah, and exhorted them to follow him to Judea. They accordingly quitted their poſſeſſions, which were

immediately occupied by their neighbours. The Meſſiah, however, diſappeared; and this deluded multitude periſhed by the way. They are accuſed of having invited the Arabs into Languedoc as well as of having favoured the invaſion of the Normans in Italy, and theſe prejudices excited many enemies againſt them in that part of Europe, while they were multiplying in Aſia. There were reckoned to be nine hundred thouſand of them in one town of Syria under the dominion of the Perſians. The arts and the ſciences flouriſhed among them; but while they enjoyed peace from without, they were agitated at home by civil diſſenſions. Different ſects, hoſtile to each other, were engaged in continual broils. In Spain they had violent diſputes on account of a tranſlation of the Talmud, a book full of traditions, which contains uſeful things intermixed with a great many fables. Some evil-diſpoſed perſon in that kingdom thought proper to confound them with the Saracens; and for that reaſon they were every-where treated as enemies. This perſecution, which was extremely bloody, extended itſelf to France. Its fury was ſometimes ſoftened by the merit of a few rabbis. In Egypt they triumphed, and were humbled; were expelled, and recalled. Theſe alternations, too common, carried them from one end of the world to the other, always maltreated, and always expoſed to deſtruction.

Twelfth century.

In the twelfth century we find a great many of them in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and the Euphrates—in the cities by which their banks were adorned—at Bagdad, Cufa, and throughout all Aſſyria, places where their fathers had once groaned in captivity, and where their children were expoſed to a fate not much more favourable. In Egypt they had experienced terrible viciſſitudes. A much greater number of them, it is ſaid, were maſſacred there at one time than ever went forth under Moſes. They retired thither in detachments, when expelled from other countries, and formed populous colonies. It is not aſtoniſhing that they ſhould have been very numerous at Jeruſalem and Tyre, in Judea, and in all Galilee. From theſe coaſts they ſailed to Greece, and went in crowds to Conſtantinople, from which they inundated Italy, at Rome, Capua, and Milan; and proceeded thence to France, where they became united on the ſide of Spain with thoſe of Africa; and on the other penetrated to Germany and England. Their ſynagogues then had a communication with each other; and thence aroſe an emulation in ſtudy, which tended to diffuſe the ſciences.

But the great men who flouriſhed among them did not prevent various impoſtors from impoſing on the credulity of the populace. There were no leſs than nine or ten falſe meſſiahs in the eaſt and weſt. In France, Charles the Fair, on

account of a falſe meſſiah, cauſed all the ſynagogues to be deſtroyed. In Perſia, the ſophi gave to a falſe meſſiah, who had taken up arms, a ſum of money, which he demanded for putting an end to the war. In Spain, two impoſtors excited an inſurrection, and expoſed the whole nation to ſevere treatment. In Arabia, another boaſted that he could perform miracles, and aſſerted, that if beheaded, he would again come to life. He was taken at his word; but he never revived, and the Jews were condemned to pay a heavy fine, as a puniſhment for their credulity. The latter, indeed, was ſo great, that they honoured as the Meſſiah a leper, a kind of men who in their eyes are abominable. They followed the traces of another, who appeared and diſappeared in Moravia; and who aſcribed to himſelf the power of becoming inviſible. The nation was obliged to produce him; and notwithſtanding his inviſibility, he was ſeized. A ſimilar circumſtance took place in Perſia. In both countries the Jews were made to pay dearly for the uneaſineſs occaſioned to the ſovereigns by their propenſity to become the dupes of impoſture. If we add the oppreſſion of every kind to which they were expoſed, by the fanaticiſm of the cruſaders, and the blind zeal of the populace, who accuſed them of crucifying children, and of poiſoning the wells, fountains, and

rivers, we ſhall find reaſon to be aſtoniſhed that their race is not now extinct.

Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Theſe horrid inſinuations thrown out againſt them in the preceding centuries, aſſumed an air of truth in the thirteenth; and though the leaſt reflexion might have ſhewn that theſe crimes, if they really took place, could be imputed only to a few profligates, the whole nation was made reſponſible for them. The horror which the Jews inſpired was general; and their names, when they occurred in the page of hiſtory, public deeds, and police regulations, were always accompanied with the moſt inſulting epithets. The axe was continually ſuſpended over their heads; ſcaffolds were erected before their eyes, and fires were ready kindled to conſume them. But at the time when they were treated ſo cruelly in Europe, they were ſuffered to take breath in Judea. From the Mamalukes in Egypt they experienced neither perſecution nor favour. The Tartars received them as phyſicians, aſtrologers, and men thoroughly acquainted with commerce. The Greeks ſuffered them to live in tranquillity among them; and even condemned the harſh treatment which they experienced in other countries.

In general, the Jews endured with leſs impatience the oppreſſion they ſuffered than the exceſſive zeal of thoſe who attempted to convert

them. Chriſtians who would not have receded one ſtep from their own law, endeavoured to make the Jews advance with giant-ſtrides in the principles which they preached up to them. They compelled them to ſend their children to chriſtian ſchools; to hear ſermons, and to read dogmatic books. One of theſe works, written by an eccleſiaſtic, was entitled the *Poniard of the Faith:* a title extremely engaging for the proſelytes whom they wiſhed to attract. The alternative of being killed or believing was often employed. The Jews enumerate the names of many who became martyrs on this occaſion. Thoſe who ſuffer always imagine they ſhall gain by a change. Under a long ſeries of the kings of France they were always proſcribed and haraſſed. On the other hand, they were favoured by the popes at Avignon; that is to ſay, the former took their money by force, the latter made them pay for tranquillity. The Engliſh expelled them from their iſland. A fire having broke out at Frankfort, they were accuſed of being the incendiaries. They were burnt there as well as at Nuremberg. In the Palatinate they were hunted down like wild beaſts, becauſe one old woman had ſaid that they aſked her to procure them a child to crucify; and another, that they had deſired the hoſt that they might profane it. All Germany expelled them from its boſom.

" Fly," ſaid the emperor Winceſlas to them in one of the reſcripts, " or be converted."

Fifteenth, ſixteenth, and ſeventeenth centuries.

Even this cruel alternative was not always propoſed to them. The quality of Jew alone often carried with it proſcription, without mitigation or exception. Of this we have a fatal inſtance in Spain. Ferdinand and Iſabella expelled them from their ſtates to the number of eight hundred thouſand. This emigration is one of the moſt melancholy mentioned in hiſtory. Scarcely were they allowed a few months to diſpoſe of their property. They were obliged to ſell their lands and furniture, as well as every thing they poſſeſſed, at whatever price they could get. They embarked for Africa; but ſeveral of the veſſels were wrecked; and others taking fire were conſumed in the open ſea with their whole cargoes. Few of them arrived in a ſafe port. When they landed, theſe unfortunate wretches were rejected by the inhabitants, who feared that ſuch a multitude might occaſion a famine. Flying from this inhoſpitable land, they penetrated into the deſert wilds of Africa, where they periſhed, either overwhelmed by the ſands, or torn to pieces by the wild beaſts. This is the laſt calamity they experienced as a national body: but of partial exile, baniſhment, and proſcription, there are innumerable inſtances, which have continued to the

preſent period. To the preſent period! This expreſſion denotes that they exiſt ſtill. An exiſtence next to a miracle. After ſo many miſfortunes, which have deſtroyed nations far more flouriſhing, they exiſt in great numbers, and in all countries. They are found in the principal cities of Aſia and Europe. They apply much to commerce, with no branch of which they are unacquainted. They can accomodate themſelves alſo without ſcruple to every mode of carrying it on. An article purchaſed by a Jew is conveyed from hand to hand to the extremity of the world, nor can any traces of its paſſage be diſcovered. When allowed to poſſeſs land, they employ themſelves in agriculture. Though mixed with the inhabitants of all countries, they have never been incorporated among them. Their religious ceremonies, their prohibition to eat certain kinds of food, their feſtivals, their faſts, their legal abſtinences, and their marriages confined to their own tribes, ſeparate from all other people this aſtoniſhing nation, deprived of authority throughout the whole world, and yet the only one which, by known places of ſettlement, can ſhew traces of its claim to every point of the habitable globe.

AFRICA.

Africa, between the Red Sea, the Indian Sea, the African Ocean, and Mediterranean.

Africa, to which the Romans gave the epithet of *monſtrorum ferax*, too much juſtifies that qualification, whether we underſtand it as applied to ſavage and carnivorous animals, to men equally ferocious, or merely to monſtroſities in regard to the manners and prejudices of the inhabitants. It is a peninſula connected with Aſia only by a tongue of land, about thirty leagues in breadth, between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The interior part of this vaſt country is little known, for two reaſons: firſt; travelling there is attended with great difficulties, becauſe the inhabitants, who are exceedingly miſtruſtful of the Europeans, whom they conſider as leagued together in a deſign to get poſſeſſion of the gold mines, which form their principal riches, will not permit them to penetrate to any diſtance from the coaſt: ſecondly; the obſtinacy of the natives to obſerve ſilence with regard to their country is invincible. Even the ſlaves who are carried from it cannot be induced by promiſes, careſſes, threats, or ſeverity, to communicate any information reſpecting it; or if they open their mouths, it is only to deceive, and never to give a real account of their religion, their cuſtoms, and their commerce; or of any thing that might prove intereſting, or even gratify curio-

ſity. For the little, therefore, which is known of it we are indebted to the relations of a few miſſionaries, who eſcaped the ferocity of the natives, or withſtood the ſeverity of the climate and the fatigue of travelling in thoſe inhoſpitable regions. Its ſhores on the Mediterranean were frequented by the Phœnicians, who ſeem alſo to have paſſed through the Strait of Gibraltar. Thoſe on the ocean were known to the Perſians; but it is doubtful whether they ever proceeded ſo far as the Cape of Good Hope. It was reſerved for the Portugueſe to give us an accurate and minute knowledge of the coaſts to the eaſt and weſt of the Cape, which they did in proportion as their voyages to India afforded them an opportunity of extending or rectifying their obſervations.

Productions and habitations.

Africa is ſhaped like a pyramid, the baſe of which reſts on the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Nile to the Strait of Gibraltar. It is fourteen hundred leagues in extent from north to ſouth, and fifteen hundred from eaſt to weſt. Two thirds of it are ſituated within the torrid zone. It is not the heat, however, which prevents that part from being as populous as the reſt, but the barrenneſs of the ſoil, the ſcarcity of water, the bad quality of that neceſſary article, and the peſtilential vapours which ariſe from lakes formed by the exceſſive rains, which being covered with reeds, and never agitated by

the wind, become putrid. Owing to these different causes, some countries are destitute of inhabitants; while the neighbouring ones, which are equally exposed to the vertical rays of the sun, have an abundant population. Africa is divided into four parts: first, the country of the whites, which comprehends Egypt, Numidia, and Zaara, or the desert; secondly, the country of the blacks, viz. Nigritia, Guinea, and Nubia; thirdly, Ethiopia, Upper and Lower Abyssinia, the states on the borders of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, with the immense regions in the interior part behind these coasts; fourthly, the islands which surround it in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the ocean.

Negroes. A very bad character is given, in general, to the Africans, whether Moors, Arabs, or Negroes. They are, it is said, brutal, ignorant, lazy, treacherous, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious. St. Augustin, who was an African, said that it was as difficult for an African not to be inclined to incontinence as for a person born in Africa not to be an African. There is a common proverb also which says, that all people of the earth, the Africans excepted, have some good mixed with their bad qualities. These odious imputations ought to be applied chiefly to the Negroes or Caffres; next to the Moors or old tawny inhabitants; and much less to the

Arabs who diſperſed themſelves throughout Africa about the middle of the ſeventh century, and who now form a great part of its population. The marabous, who are the prieſts of the country, have invented a ſingular fable to explain the difference between the white, tawny, and black men, in regard to fortune and riches.

After the death of Noah, ſay they, his three ſons, one of whom was white, the ſecond tawny, and the third black, agreed to divide his property, which conſiſted of gold and ſilver, precious ſtones, ivory, veſtments of ſilk, linen and wool, horſes, camels, dromedaries, cattle, ſheep and goats, arms, furniture, corn and other proviſions, beſides tobacco and pipes. Having ſpent the greater part of the day in aſſorting theſe different articles, the three heirs were obliged to defer the partition till the next morning. They therefore ſupped, ſmoked a friendly pipe together, and then retired to reſt, each in his own tent. After ſome hours' ſleep the white brother, awakened by avarice, aroſe, ſeized the gold and ſilver, together with the precious ſtones and moſt beautiful veſtments, and having loaded the beſt camels with them purſued his way to that country which his white poſterity have ever ſince inhabited. The Moor, or tawny, awaking afterwards with the ſame intention, and being ſurprized that he had been anticipated by his brother, ſecured in great haſte the remainder of

the horſes, oxen, and camels, and retired to another part of the world, leaving only ſome coarſe veſtments, cotton, pipes and tobacco, millet, rice, and other things of leſs value. This laſt lot fell to the ſhare of the black, the lazieſt of the three brothers, who took up his pipe with a melancholy air, and while he ſat ſmoking in a penſive mood ſwore to be revenged. Theſe indeed are the ruling paſſions of the negroes: to ſmoke, to do nothing, to remain in a thoughtful poſture, and to gratify their revenge.

They have no natural inclination but brutality: no affection for their wives and children, whom they ſell. They are drunkards, laſcivious, cruel, and perfidious; in a word, deſtitute of principles and under no reſtraint. They never think, and, like the animals, always act without reflexion, according to the impulſe of the moment. Their children are born white except the parts of ſex, and a ſmall black circle around the nails. Their beautiful black colour is effaced by diſeaſe, and according to the degree of the malady is degraded into a diſmal paleneſs. After death they become exceedingly black. When they happen to be wounded the ſcar remains white: in general, the ſoles of their feet are of the ſame colour. It is not true that they become white by remaining long in a climate which is little expoſed to the heat of the ſun. Their blackneſs is not leſſened but by a

ſucceſſion and mixture of races, after tranſmutations, the number of which it has never yet been poſſible to determine, becauſe the ſucceſs of them depends on the greater or leſs ſtrength of the individual; but the blackneſs is at length ſo entirely effaced that no traces of it remain.

Beſides paying adoration to the ſun, the moon, the ſtars, and to fire, the negroes practiſe the moſt ſtupid and ridiculous idolatry in regard to trees, plants, mountains, rivers, and even vile inſects, which they in ſome meaſure worſhip as a kind of inferior deities or imaginary beings, who, according to their prieſts, have an influence in all the affairs of life, health and ſickneſs, death and nativity, and every event fortunate or unfortunate. Such ſuperſtition, however, is far more excuſable than the total want of religion and hatred againſt it which are obſerved among the Imbiges, a race of barbarous and impious monſters, who inhabit a country near that of the Hottentots. Theſe people are avowed enemies of the human race, and even of heaven, againſt which they diſcharge their impotent arrows with horrid imprecations when they experience any misfortune. They devour their ſlaves and priſoners of war, whom they roaſt alive.

There are Jews eſtabliſhed in ſome parts of Africa. Chriſtianity is the religion of Abyſſinia, but it is much disfigured. Mahometaniſm may be conſidered as the prevailing religion, becauſe it is

Religion.

followed by the Moors, Arabs, and a great part of the negroes. As the Arabs are impatient of all reſtraint, the religion of Mahomet among them has become altogether ſenſual: they have baniſhed all thoſe auſterities with which it was burthened by its founder;—abſtinence from wine and pork, faſting, frequent prayer, and ablutions. A good muſſulman would not be able to diſtinguiſh his religion through pagan ſuperſtitions, which are obſerved with more care than the precepts of the Koran. This mutilated mahometaniſm prevails even in the ſtates of Barbary, tributary to the grand-ſeignior, and in thoſe which belong to him in Egypt and along the ſhores of the Red Sea.

Marabous. Theſe places alſo abound with the Marabous, a kind of prieſts or ſaints much feared and venerated by all the Africans, and even by the negroes. They are divided into three claſſes. The firſt reſide in the cities, towns, and villages; the ſecond wander about without any fixed habitation; and the third frequent the thick foreſts and the moſt arid deſerts. All of them, however, under the cloke of auſterity indulge in the greateſt irregularities. The baſis of their belief is, that the heavens, the ſtars, and the elements, have in them ſomething divine; ſo that no religion can be erroneous. They pretend that by faſting and abſtinence men may elevate themſelves to the nature of angels; and

that being thus purified from every vicious affection, it will be impoſſible afterwards to ſin. This is the doctrine of Spinoſa and the Moliniſts. The marabous diſplay in their conduct all that depravity of the mind and heart which theſe two ſyſtems muſt produce.

They are much dreaded even by the princes, on account of the empire which ſuperſtition gives them over the people. Travellers are never better guarded than when they have one of them as their conductor. Robbers and plunderers, whether Arabs, Moors, or Negroes, never dare to inſult, or even treat with incivility, a ſtranger who is under ſuch protection. It appears that they are connected together by a certain bond of correſpondence and ſubordination, like a religious body; and that they form a kind of republic, the capital of which is on the Niger. Some of them uſe circumciſion, and others baptiſm. In general, they adopt all the practices of the people among whom they reſide. This condeſcenſion procures them great confidence; and ſanctifies in the eyes of their followers the ſhameful exceſſes to which they abandon themſelves. No beings can be more ridiculouſly proud, and more ignorant than the marabous, unleſs it be thoſe ſtupid people who liſten to them. The Africans think it below them to learn any thing from the Europeans; contemptible foreigners, as they call them, con-

ſtrained by miſery to quit their native land, and to wander to the extremities of the globe, that they may carry back from their fortunate country the moſt valuable articles they poſſeſs. But, however wretched they may be in other reſpects, they enjoy this happineſs, that they conſider themſelves as the moſt fortunate of mankind; and their own country, even in thoſe parts which are barren and unhealthful, as the fineſt in the world.

Africa, indeed, produces abundance of gold, the collecting of which is not attended either with the ſame labour or the ſame danger as that of Mexico or Peru. It is found in thoſe diſtricts which produce it at the diſtance of five or ſix feet below the ſurface of the earth; and the rivers ſweep down large quantities, which require only to be waſhed and ſeparated from the mud. The facility with which the negroes can obtain, in exchange for this metal, the few neceſſaries they ſtand in need of, renders them exceedingly lazy and indifferent in regard to manufactures and the mechanical arts. The men, in general, ſpend the greater part of their time in drinking, ſmoking, and ſleep. The women are burthened with all the labour of their domeſtic economy—ſowing, planting, and reaping; while their huſbands with great compoſure behold them expoſed to a ſcorching ſun, engaged in toil from morning to night, with a child on their back,

and no other nouriſhment than a little meal moiſtened with water. It never ſo much as enters the mind of theſe indolent drones to aſſiſt their oppreſſed females to pound the millet, which ſupplies the whole family with daily food.

The inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt are, however, a little more induſtrious. The deſire of gain induces them to ſearch for thoſe things which may be ſuitable to foreigners, and to take ſome trouble to find them. Next to gold, their moſt valuable article is gum, with which they carry on a great trade. It ſerves them alſo as a kind of food, which they find wholeſome and agreeable. Their trade is exceedingly advantageous to the Europeans, becauſe they give in exchange articles only of ſmall value;—abundance of toys, mercery goods of the moſt inferior quality, domeſtic utenſils, coarſe ſtuffs of various colours, trinkets for female ornaments, ſuch as ſmall mirrors, bells, and a thouſand other trifles, which the negroes admire, and, like children, contemplate for whole days when they have them in their poſſeſſion: but above all, ſpirituous liquors, of which they are ſo paſſionately fond that they even ſometimes ſell themſelves to obtain them.

Moors, Saracens, and Arabs.

The Moors, deſcended from the inhabitants of the ancient Mauritania, are the original natives of the country. The Arabs are the children of the Saracens, who inundated Africa in

the ſeventh century. Theſe two nations have been confounded in ſuch a manner that, though ſome ſhades of difference may be ſtill perceived, they can ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed by foreigners. There are more Moors who live like Arabs, than Arabs who imitate the Moors. The Arabs have rendered their language prevalent throughout the whole peninſula, as well as their religion, which is the mahometan. As in Arabia, they are divided into tribes, which rarely intermix with each other; thoſe in towns are leſs ſcrupulous in this reſpect, but thoſe who remain fixed in one ſpot, where they form a kind of village, or who encamp in itinerant hordes, have retained much better the cuſtoms of their anceſtors. The men confine themſelves to the care of the cattle: the interior part of their domeſtic economy is managed by the women, who are loved and reſpected by their huſbands, but who are exceedingly reſerved, and remain as it were inviſible in their tents and waggons. This obligation is impoſed on them by the jealouſy of the men. Adultery is ſeverely puniſhed, and polygamy allowed. The whole family reſide, if poſſible, in the ſame hut, where a place is always reſerved for the horſe, the favourite animal of the Arabs. They carefully preſerve the geneology of their horſes; and the foals are reared together with their children: they generally ſerve them as pillows when they lie down to re-

poſe. Their maſters load them with kiſſes and careſſes, which theſe animals court, and with which they appear to be highly gratified.

There is very little difference between the manners of the African Arabs, and thoſe of the Arabs in their own country, already deſcribed. They are, in general, hoſpitable, brave, and capable of enduring fatigue. I ſhall therefore take notice of only a few particular uſages. The women paint various figures on their foreheads, cheeks, arms, thighs, &c. and as they fade or become effaced, thoſe who have not the means of renewing them, render them permanent by puncturing the ſkin. In ſome tribes the huſband and wife on their wedding-day put on each a ſhirt, which they muſt never throw aſide till it drops off in rags. They never pay attention to any thing for the purpoſe of acquiring knowledge; but liſten or gaze through curioſity. Their medicine conſiſts of a few recipes preſerved by tradition, which they employ habitually, and without diſcrimination; but they are ſkilful in topics, and well ſeconded by nature, which ſupplies them with a variety of ſtrong and powerful plants: they are acquainted alſo with cupping; and inoculation for the ſmall-pox is in general uſe among them. The variolous matter muſt be purchaſed with confections and fruit, or procured in exchange for theſe articles, elſe it is conſidered as ineffectual.

The chiefs of the wandering Arabs are called ſheiks, an appellation which ſignifies old doctor, or maſter. Some of them are elected, others hold their offices by hereditary right. The buſineſs of theſe chiefs is to govern their petty republics, to adjuſt the differences which ariſe between individuals, and to maintain peace and happineſs. A collection of ſeveral families, who form a tribe, is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *douwar:* the ſheiks of each douwar are ſubject to another more exalted in dignity, called emir, a title equivalent to that of prince. In this manner ſmall kingdoms are formed. The emir appoints the encampments and military expeditions, divides the plunder, and fixes the value of the tribute which is paid to more powerful princes, ſuch as the dey of Algiers, as well as that which is paid to himſelf, and which he is often obliged to levy by force. When the douwars find themſelves too much burthened they remove to the deſert, and carry with them the contribution, which it is difficult then to collect.

Their arms are bows and arrows, ſabres, and, in particular, lances or pikes, which they employ in a very dangerous manner, eſpecially when retreating. They make little uſe of fire-arms, becauſe they are unacquainted with the art of keeping them in repair. Their cavalry are exceedingly active and alert. The intelligence of

their horſes, and their ready obedience to perform every movement which the rider deſires, are worthy of admiration. Such formerly were the Numidians. The Arabs, in their douwars, poſſeſs all the ſimplicity of primitive manners. The ſheik himſelf goes and takes a lamb from his flock, kills it, and prepares it for the table, while his wife makes ready the fire and the ſeaſoning. They never ſpend their time in converſation, in walking, or amuſing themſelves with their children or domeſtics; when they have nothing to do they ſmoke. A certain number of douwars are ſometimes collected together; and on ſuch occaſions they hold a feſtival, that is to ſay, indulge in good cheer. They aſſemble alſo for marriages. The intended huſband muſt pay a ſum of money before he is allowed to ſee the young woman who is deſtined to be his ſpouſe. If ſhe does not pleaſe his taſte he may ſend her back; but in that caſe he loſes every thing he has given to her relations. It is of advantage, therefore, to have ugly daughters. Funerals are accompanied with loud cries, tears, and lamentations; in a word, with all thoſe noiſy expreſſions of grief which are not always a proof of a heart affected with deep ſorrow.

The journeys of the Moors and Arabs of the ſea coaſts, when they go in queſt of gold, are performed acroſs ſeven hundred leagues of a deſert, called the Sea of Sand, on account of the Journeys.

lightneſs of the ſand, which is ſometimes raiſed by tempeſts in ſuch a manner as to bury the hapleſs traveller. For the ſpace of two hundred leagues no water is found but in two places. It muſt be drawn from wells of a great depth, which are often choked up with ſand; and the water after it has been procured with much labour and difficulty is brackiſh and ſo diſagreeable that the camels, the only beaſts of burthen employed for theſe journeys, are diſguſted with it before their thirſt is quenched. If the travellers are ſo unfortunate as to miſs this wretched reſource, either by paſſing the wells or not being able to find them, they are reduced to the moſt dreadful extremities. The merchants, therefore, who ſurmount theſe difficulties, when they arrive in the diſtricts which produce the gold, if they find themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong, do not purchaſe it, but take it by force; and the owners conſider themſelves highly fortunate if a few trifles are left them in exchange.

Animals. Hunting in Africa is conducted in the ſame manner as in Tartary, by forming a circle at a diſtance, which the hunters contract by gradually approaching each other: but in ſuch encloſures there are found a greater number of ferocious animals than in Tartary;—lions, tigers, leopards, and panthers, rendered ſtill more ſavage by the heat of the climate and the ſcarcity of water. By a fortunate ſuperſtition the Africans conſider

a dead elephant as impure; and for that reaſon never kill theſe noble animals, which prevents their entire deſtruction. As the rhinoceros is not ſpared, it has become as ſcarce as the elephant is common. Among the indigenous animals is reckoned the giraffe, which is of a large ſize, and in figure ſomewhat like a deer; but its fore legs are much longer than thoſe behind: and the *lampt*, which has ſome reſemblance to an ox, but is ſavage and fierce, and which ruſhes forth from the thickets with the impetuoſity of the wild boar. In theſe immenſe plains the African hunts even the winged tribe, and purſues the oſtrich: he alſo often finds new animals before unknown.

He has all our domeſtic animals; and beſides theſe, apes, equally miſchievous as in other countries, but uſeful for deſtroying the ants which they eat. Serpents, which are here very common, are of all ſizes, from a bulk almoſt incredible to the delicate fineneſs of a needle; and the latter, as they every-where find a paſſage, are not the leaſt dangerous. The chameleon frees the earth from inſects. Its eyes poſſeſs a property highly advantageous to a hunter, as it can direct them to two different objects, below or above, behind or before. The ſeas and the rivers teem with fiſh, but the former are infeſted by ſharks, and the latter by crocodiles. The coaſts abound with the lamentin, a kind of ſea-cow, the fleſh of which

is excellent. To its riches in gold, Africa adds pearls and ambergris, cryſtal and ſaltpetre. It contains large rivers, but few mountains in the interior parts; and the few it has are naked and thinly covered with wood. The capes, on the Mediterranean, are exceedingly high, and the bottom is muddy; but on the ocean the water near the ſhore is of conſiderable depth.

Chriſtians. The moſt beautiful diſtricts of Africa, on the Mediterranean, afforded formerly, as is well known, an aſylum to many of the Romans during the civil wars, and particularly in the time of their proſcriptions. They founded cities in theſe countries, and embelliſhed thoſe which had been built before. This part of the Roman empire became very flouriſhing under the governors ſent thither by the emperors. One of them, count Boniface, who in the fifth century was on the point of being recalled by a court intrigue, invited the Vandals from Spain, in order to maintain himſelf in his office. Theſe Vandals landed there under Genſeric, and founded an empire, which though at firſt very powerful and formidable even to Rome itſelf, continued only under ſix monarchs. The reign of theſe princes, who were arians, is celebrated by their perſecution of the catholics. Whether owing to the zeal of ſectaries, or a perſuaſion that, as catholiciſm attached the people to the Roman empire, their authority would never be properly

eſtabliſhed but by the deſtruction of that religion, there were no means which the Vandal princes did not employ to deſtroy it and to ſubſtitute arianiſm in its ſtead.

All the orthodox were proſcribed and obliged to ſhut their churches, the moſt beautiful of which were given to the arians: the reſt were converted to prophane and even to vile purpoſes. A great many of them were demoliſhed, eſpecially thoſe the architecture of which was Roman; and they were rebuilt, or new ones erected in other places, entirely in the Gothic ſtyle. The Vandal kings ſucceſſively ſtripped the biſhops and all the eccleſiaſtics, both ſecular and regular, of their dignities and revenues. They pillaged the cathedrals, monaſteries, and chapels, by carrying away the vaſes and ſacred ornaments; and they iſſued orders for ſeizing and burning the miſſals, breviaries, and homilies, with all the other books which belonged to the churches. The perſonal violence to which individuals were expoſed was dreadful. It may give ſome idea of it to obſerve, that the execution of it was entruſted not only to arians, but even to idolatrous African prieſts, who had been long incenſed againſt the orthodox clergy, as they leſſened their power by making converts. Baniſhment was the principal ſeverity employed in this perſecution;—but baniſhment to frightful deſerts, to which the unhappy victims were

driven like herds of cattle, without pity for the old and infirm; and where they were abandoned without reſources, and without proviſions. The hiſtorians of this perſecution conſider it as a juſt puniſhment of Heaven for the licentiouſneſs of manners which prevailed among the clergy, as well as among the people. "While they "pretended to maintain the purity of the faith," ſay theſe writers, "they were real idolaters by "their conduct."

After a hundred and ſeventeen years, Africa was freed from the yoke of the Vandals by Beliſarius. Under the generals and prefects ſent thither by the Greek emperors, catholiciſm, which had always ſupported itſelf, though in a ſtate of obſcurity, reſumed its former ſplendour; the churches were opened; its riches were reſtored, and arianiſm was baniſhed from the country. The Moors, who beheld this revival not without envy, fell upon the catholics; but the latter were defended by the Greek emperors, who made great efforts to preſerve this bright ornament of their crown. Theſe wars weakened both parties, and paved the way for an eaſy conqueſt to the Saracens when they entered Africa. They extended their conqueſts with the utmoſt rapidity; and founded an empire, the chiefs of which aſſumed the name of the Salimite caliphs. After four reigns, theſe caliphs transferred their power and their title to

Egypt. On their departure, the glory of their empire vaniſhed. From Egypt to the Strait of Gibraltar, the country, haraſſed by inteſtine war among the petty princes by whom it was occupied, and by the deſtructive attacks of the Spaniards and other powers of Europe, has at length become the domain and retreat of a horde of pirates.

Egypt.

But what has become of Egypt? Can it be diſcovered in the picture given of it by travellers, who repreſent the country as depopulated and reduced to a ſtate of ſterility; its towns as conſtructed of ruins; its magnificent edifices converted into miſerable hovels; its ſoil covered with the fragments of ancient columns, diſperſed over its ſurface, as places deſtined for ſepulture are ſometimes covered by dry and withered bones? How happens it that a country which formerly ſupplied food to twenty millions of inhabitants, and which ſpared ſome beſides for exportation, ſhould at preſent be ſcarcely able to maintain two millions? The reaſon, according to ſome authors is, that nature here is exhauſted. It may, however, be obſerved, that if there be any deficiency, it is not in nature but of men to render the earth productive by induſtry and cultivation. At preſent, Egypt contains ſcarcely a tenth part of the inhabitants by whom it was

formerly cultivated. They are the Copts, ſuppoſed to be the deſcendants of the ancient Egyptians. Their condition under the Turkiſh government is abject and wretched; they are chriſtians, but exceedingly ignorant. It is believed that the language of their liturgy is the ancient vulgar Egyptian. Though read by their prieſts, they do not underſtand it. The other inhabitants, particularly of Upper Egypt, are Arabs, who live in douwars, like the Africans, under the command of a ſheik.

Government

Would it be prejudice or calumny to aſcribe the ſterility of the fields, the ruinous ſtate of the cities, and the miſery of the people, to the Ottoman government? In regard to the people, it is entirely military, and abſolutely deſpotic. The pacha appointed to govern this province, the moſt lucrative place in the empire, is receiver-general for the Porte. On paying a ſtipulated ſum, which he tranſmits every year to the grand-ſeignior, together with proviſions, articles of dreſs, ſpices, trinkets for the ſeraglio, preſents for the ſultans and the miniſters, and pay for the militia, he is allowed to keep the reſt, without being called to any account. He muſt make his fortune in three years, the ordinary term of his power; the patent for which is, however, renewed every year, in order that the grand-ſeignior, beſides the other charges, may receive an annual perquiſite; and the pacha, to indemnify

himſelf, diſpoſes of every thing for money. The plague, if I may uſe the expreſſion, is his Peru. During the time it prevails, which is about three months in the year, he is continually ſelling and transferring from hand to hand the national domains, by which he acquires immenſe ſums. Some of theſe domains return to him twice or thrice in the courſe of a little time, by the rapid deceaſe of the poſſeſſors.

The authority of the governor is moderated by a divan or council, compoſed of twenty-four beys, whom he appoints and diſplaces at pleaſure. This check therefore is not very inconvenient to him, eſpecially as he has it in his power to confer upon them lucrative offices, which is another inducement for them to comply with his wiſhes. In no other part of the empire are the Turkiſh militia ſo inſolent as in Egypt. As the pacha has occaſion for janiſſaries to levy the taxes, and ſometimes to oppoſe the beys, he allows them indulgences which are inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the inhabitants. Foreign merchants, Europeans as well as others, are expoſed here to oppreſſion, which they cannot prevent but by the payment of money. Owing to all theſe obſtacles, this fine country, which might, and ought to be the centre of the commerce of the world, languiſhes in a ſtate of ruinous inactivity.

The Arabs not only plunder the other inhabi-

tants, but do not even ſpare each other. The beys do, in the provinces, what is done by the pacha and his officers in the towns. Inſtead of reſtraining plunderers, they receive from them a certain tribute. A multitude of ſlaves are brought from every part of Africa to Egypt, and thence diſtributed throughout all Aſia: it is the greateſt mart for the ſale of human beings in the whole world. The arts, which flouriſhed ſo much here formerly, are in a ſtate of total decline. The Egyptians ſtill retain ſomething of the fondneſs which their anceſtors had for ſepulchral monuments. The ancients made them grand and magnificent; the moderns make them agreeable, and ornament them with pavilions, under which they can enjoy the cool air, and with pompous inſcriptions. There are diſtinct kinds for each ſex, and for ſlaves. The ſciences in Egypt do not deſerve to be mentioned. After the caliphs, the taſte for knowledge decayed under the Mamalukes; and under the Turks it has become totally extinct.

There are only three or four places in Egypt in which garriſons are kept. Cairo, the capital, and the reſidence of the pacha, is the theatre of his grandeur, and of the luxury of the beys. They pretend, that the magnificence of their divan ſurpaſſes that of the grand-ſeignior. The caſtle, which is pretty well furniſhed with cannon, could make but a feeble defenſe, becauſe

it is commanded by the adjacent heights. Its principal uſe is to overawe the town; which, as it contains a great many people, and particularly of the lower claſſes, has need of a check. Cairo is badly ſituated amidſt ſand; the houſes are ill built, and the ſtreets are crooked and dirty. It is the centre of the trade of the Red Sea with Alexandria and Roſetta. The former contains nothing of its ancient ſplendour, except ruins: but its harbour is ſtill excellent. The latter ſtands in a pleaſant and agreeable ſituation. Suez, which marks out the extremity of that line of commerce, extending from the bottom of the Red Sea to the ports of the Mediterranean, is moſt unfavourably ſituated on a parched ſandy coaſt, deſtitute of water and proviſions; but it abounds with every thing, becauſe it is kept alive by commerce. There is ſtill ſeen, at the diſtance of two leagues from the town, a deep ditch, ſuppoſed to be the commencement of the canal, projected more than once by the kings of Egypt and the Roman emperors, in order to form a junction of the two ſeas.

The Coptic church conſiſts of a patriarch, who is elected at Cairo, and reſides at Alexandria, of which he is metropolitan; and of a hundred and forty biſhops, his ſuffragans in Egypt, Syria, Nubia, and Abyſſinia. It has alſo all the hierarchical degrees found in the Greek and Roman churches. The Copts follow the doc- Copts.

trine of Eutychius, who admitted only one nature in Jeſus Chriſt. They have adopted ſeveral of the Jewiſh ceremonies; and they obſerve them with as much, if not more, ſtrictneſs and zeal than the moſt eſſential rites of chriſtianity, as is proved by their circumciſion and baptiſm. They conſider the former as ſo neceſſary that they extend it to both ſexes. Boys are not baptized till the end of forty days, and girls till the end of eighty. In this they adhere to the time preſcribed by the law of Moſes for the purification of the mothers, who muſt aſſiſt at the ceremony. A celebrated catholic doctor has proved that they entertain an orthodox faith reſpecting the real preſence. They practiſe confeſſion; but merely as ſimple accuſation, without any reflexions, and always followed by abſolution. Marriages are performed before the prieſt, and by his adminiſtration. They are much addicted to faſting. They have a lent of fifty days before eaſter; another of forty-three before chriſtmas, and many vigils; on which faſting are neceſſary alſo. During their long faſts they eat neither fiſh, eggs, fleſh, butter, nor oil; drink nothing but water; take only one meal a little before ſunſet, and oblige ſick perſons and children above ten years of age to ſubmit to the ſame regulations. Marriage among them is not indiſſoluble; they are acquainted with divorce, and by a cuſtom peculiar to themſelves the wo-

men may ſue for it. The followers of the Greek church are alſo very numerous in Egypt; but it is leſs favoured by the Turks than the Coptic: theſe two churches entertain a mortal hatred to each other. The catholic miſſionaries endeavour to reconcile them by making converts; but their attempts have been attended with very little ſucceſs.

The celebrated caravan of Mecca ſets out from Cairo, where a multitude of pilgrims aſſemble from Turkey in Europe, Aſia, and Africa. The number of the perſons who compoſe it is ſaid to be not leſs than forty thouſand. A hundred days are employed in this journey; and they are obliged to carry with them a ſupply of proviſions for the whole time. The poor are aſſiſted by the rich. The emir hadgi, or chief of the pilgrims, is generally a bey, on whom the pacha, as a mark of favour, confers that employment, which is exceedingly lucrative. He has a body of troops under his command to ſerve as an eſcort, and the power of life and death as long as the journey laſts. The departure of the caravan from Cairo is accompanied with feſtivals and rejoicing: it is joined by ſeveral ſmaller ones on the road, ſo that before its reaches Mecca it is ſometimes increaſed to double its original number. This immenſe multitude is compoſed of two claſſes. Devotees who undertake the pilgrimage through pure zeal and religion, and Caravan.

merchants who embrace that opportunity to carry on their trade. Both theſe, on their return, are honoured with the titles of hadgi pilgrim, which ſerves as a proper name—Hadgi Mahomet, Hadgi Muſtapha—and enjoy certain honourable and advantageous privileges which are attached to them; ſuch as that of having the firſt place at public ceremonies, and of being almoſt always exempted from corporal puniſhment, which is as common in Africa as in Aſia.

Moez, 950. Egypt, having eſcaped from the Roman emperors, in the reign of Heraclius fell under the juriſdiction of the caliphs of Bagdad, or the caliphs of the family of the Abaſſides. The power, however, which they enjoyed there was not very great. The commanders of the troops indeed, to whom force and the right of war gave authority, were deſirous of ſhewing that they poſſeſſed it only by the conſent of the Abaſſide caliphs, and the names of the latter were mentioned in the public prayers, which ſeemed to indicate a ſort of ſovereignty; but at that time there aroſe in Africa a rival caliphat under the name of the Fatimite. The princes who aſſumed this title extended their power even to Spain; and the fourth of them, named Moez, being informed of the diſagreement which prevailed among the princes who had made a partition of Egypt, ſent thither a ſtrong army under the command of an able general named Granhar,

who conquered for him that fine kingdom. After this event he tranſported thither all his treaſures, and even the aſhes of his anceſtors, in order to ſhew that he renounced for ever his other poſſeſſions in Africa.

Moez was no ſooner inſtalled than he cauſed the name of the caliph of Bagdad to be eraſed from the prayers, and his own to be inſerted in its ſtead. This deprived the latter of the little influence he enjoyed in Egypt; but not without remonſtrances on his part, which, however, were always ineffectual. The magnificence of theſe new caliphs is much extolled: it was ſuited to their immenſe wealth, and they conſtructed ſuperb edifices, ſuch as moſques, colleges, and hoſpitals; being more deſirous to erect new buildings than to repair the old, the preſervation of which might have procured them as much honour. Theſe princes ſhewed themſelves readily to their ſubjects, not only during ſplendid ceremonies, but alſo to adminiſter juſtice daily in perſon. After the time of Moez, the ceremony on taking poſſeſſion of the throne was exceedingly pompous. The cavalcade which attended them to the moſque, to return thanks and render homage for their crown to the ſupreme Being, attended them alſo to the tomb of their anceſtors, where they were reminded, in a ſtriking manner, that every thing in life is of a tranſitory nature. This ceremony was certainly

as inſtructive as that of burning flax before the popes.

Moez died at the age of forty-five, after having reigned twenty-one years in Africa, and forty at Cairo, which he founded. He had not that firm belief reſpecting his deſcent from Fatima by Ali, and conſequently reſpecting his right to the caliphat, with which he wiſhed to inſpire others; but he avoided, on that ſubject, all diſputes and every explanation. Being one day at the head of his troops, whom he was reviewing, an individual of the family, perhaps of the Abaſſides, with a deſign to diſconcert him, aſked of what race he was deſcended. Moez immediately replied, pointing to his troops and the ſword which he wore: "Theſe are my race and my genea-"logy."

Aziz, 957. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Aziz, whoſe mild and humane government procured him univerſal affection; but his good qualities were perhaps the cauſe of the troubles which broke out in his court. He was averſe to puniſhment; and his clemency was abuſed. It appears that he was very indifferent in regard to the religion of thoſe whom he employed. His ſecretary was a chriſtian, and his treaſurer a Jew. He even eſpouſed a chriſtian. This caliph was engaged in ſeveral wars, which were not always ſucceſsful; but he never carried them on in perſon. Giauhar, the conqueror of Egypt, a ſecond Beliſarius,

becauſe beat in Syria, was diſgraced and deprived of all his riches. Aziz reigned twenty-one years, and lived forty.

Many of the actions of his ſucceſſors have been related already. The reader will recollect the hatred and licentiouſneſs of Alakem; the efforts he made to aboliſh mahometaniſm, and to ſubſtitute in its ſtead a religion, the ſenſuality of which knew no bounds; and his averſion to women, whom he wiſhed not only to interdict from quitting their houſes, but even, if poſſible, from uſing their feet, by prohibiting ſhoes to be made for them. His ſiſter avenged her ſex, by cauſing him to be aſſaſſinated. Taher his ſon, a wiſe and prudent prince, formed a perfect contraſt to his father, The reign of Moſtanzer was long and peaceful. Theſe two princes are celebrated for their love of poetry, in which they excelled. The age of Amer, ſon of the latter, who was ſtill a child, made one of his uncles conceive a deſign of uſurping the throne. The grand-vizier Afdal preſerved it, however, for his young maſter; but he was very ill rewarded, as the prince, inſtead of making a grateful return for this ſervice, diſgraced him, and expoſed him to the moſt ignominious treatment. Amer was a cruel, proud diſſembler; abandoned to debauchery, addicted to gaming, and deſtitute of all religion. But he poſſeſſed the art of governing, and

Alakem, 978 Taher, Moſtanzer, Billah, 1025. Moſtali, 1087. Amer, 1101.

was fond of the ſciences, which he cultivated with ſucceſs.

Hafed, 1141. Dhaſer, 1151. Alfayez, 1154.

Under Hafed, governed by his grand-vizier Bahram, the chriſtians enjoyed ſo great favour that it excited the jealouſy of the muſſulmen. The reſult was a civil war between the vizier and Redvan, his rival, of which the caliph, it may be ſaid, was only a ſpectator. The two religions triumphed in turns; but Hafed at length eſtabliſhed an equilibrium between them, by employing able men of both perſuaſions. The conteſt begun under Hafed by the aſpirers to the vizierſhip, to the great detriment of the authority of the caliph, continued under Dhaſer and his ſucceſſors; and in a great meaſure was the cauſe of the revolution, which took place afterwards in Egypt. Dhaſer was aſſaſſinated by his vizier, under the pretence of avenging an injury; but in reality that he might govern in the name of Alfayez, the caliph's ſon, ſtill an infant. The cruelties exerciſed againſt his uncles, as if the authors of their brother's death—cruelties to which the barbarous vizier made the young prince a witneſs—diſordered his ſenſes. He died at the age of eleven, and was ſucceeded by Al Aded, his grand-uncle, the eleventh and the laſt caliph of the family of the Fatimites. Under the two laſt the cruſaders were ſucceſsful in Egypt.

Under Al Aded, two viziers diſputed for the ſupreme authority, of which the caliph poſſeſſed only the ſhadow. The power which the latter Fatimites had weakly entruſted to their prime miniſters remained in the hands of Shawer with the title of king. Shawer was expelled by Dargan. The depoſed vizier begged aſſiſtance from Nuro'ddin, the emir of Damaſcus, who more readily granted his requeſt becauſe, being extremely zealous for his religion, he ſaw with pain the progreſs which the cruſaders, by means of theſe troubles, were making in Egypt. Dargan, fearing that he ſhould be abandoned, not only ſtripped of their employments thoſe officers whom he believed to be in the intereſts of his rival, but cauſed a great number of them to be maſſacred, which conſiderably weakened the kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe cruel perſecutions, Dargan fell a ſacrifice. Nuro'ddin ſent to Shawer a body of troops under the command of Aſado'ddin, who re-eſtabliſhed him in his office. When he ought to have repaid this ſervice, the vizier forgot the kindneſs, and fearing the reſentment of the Syrian emir, ſtrengthened himſelf againſt his threats by an alliance with the cruſaders. Nuro'ddin ſent his general to attack both the Franks and the ungrateful vizier. Aſado'ddin was accompanied on this expedition by his nephew Saladin, whom he made governor of Alexandria after he had taken it; but this young warrior reſtored it to the cruſaders, in

Al Aded, 1161.

conſequence of a treaty made with them by his uncle. The latter, freed from the fear of the Syrians, extended their conqueſts in Egypt in ſo alarming a manner that Shawer, on the eve of loſing every thing, and of being ſhut up in Cairo, had recourſe once more to the emir of Damaſcus. Aſado'ddin the general then re-appeared with his nephew Saladin; raiſed the ſiege; and defeated the plots formed againſt him by Shawer, who expiated by death his infidelity and ingratitude. The weak Ala Ded appointed the Syrian grand-vizier; but he died two months after, in conſequence of a debauch, according to the account of ſome hiſtorians, and his nephew Saladin was raiſed to the throne.

Saladin, 1170 Saladin, during the firſt years of his power, was obliged to employ the utmoſt of his dexterity in order to ſupport himſelf: on the one hand, againſt Nuro'ddin, the emir of Damaſcus, whom he found it neceſſary to perſuade that notwithſtanding the high degree of power to which he had attained he was ſtill his ſubject; and, on the other, againſt the Egyptian emirs, diſpleaſed at his good fortune. He ſucceeded to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne; conciliating the eſteem and friendſhip of the people by a juſt and moderate government, and the affection of the troops by his generoſity and victories. Nuro'ddin continued, for ſome time, to addreſs him in the language of a maſter, and ſent orders to him, to which Saladin was ex-

pected to ſubmit. Such was the command to acknowledge the Abaſſide caliph of Bagdad, and to cauſe to be effaced from the prayers the name of the Fatimite caliph. It is not known whether the caliph Ala Ded was alive at the time when this change happened, but at any rate he did not long ſurvive it. Saladin ſeized his wealth, which enabled him to carry on his expeditions againſt the cruſaders. The emir of Damaſcus died alſo; and, after having been ſubject to this Syrian monarchy, Saladin ruled in his turn. He took poſſeſſion of Nubia; and as he was the founder of his own monarchy, he left it more flouriſhing than ever it was under any of his ſucceſſors. He has been rendered famous in the hiſtory of Europe by the cruſades, which ſupply the ſilence of the former reſpecting his warlike exploits, and thoſe of the ſultans of Egypt of that period.

The dynaſty of Saladin is called the Aayabite, from the name of Ayab, the father of this prince. It exiſted no longer than eighty years. Theſe kings of Egypt adopted the title of ſultan, which Saladin aſſumed when he aboliſhed that of caliph. Al Afdal, his eldeſt ſon, poſſeſſed none of his father's qualities. He was incapable of making himſelf be either loved or feared. Al Aziz, his brother, took from him the ſceptre of Egypt, and ſent him to reſide in Syria, from which he returned after the death of

Al Afdal, 1187. Al Aziz, 1188. Al Adel, 1190. Al Manſur, 1196.

Al Aziz to be tutor to Almanſur his nephew. When become the regent of a kingdom, which he had formerly governed, he endeavoured privately to ſupplant his nephew; but he was himſelf anticipated by Al Adel his uncle, the brother of Saladin. Al Adel gave himſelf out, at firſt, as the tutor of his grand-nephew Almanſur; but when he thought he had ſecured the ſuffrages of the great, by the preſents he diſtributed, he openly aſſumed the title of ſultan. He experienced oppoſition, but he ſurmounted it. Under his reign the cruſaders took Damietta, and made conſiderable progreſs in Egypt. Al Adel had left the government of it to his ſon Al Camel, and lived peaceably himſelf on the throne of Damaſcus. He died at an advanced age, maſter of Meſopotamia and Arabia the Happy, which had been conquered for him by one of his grand-ſons.

Al Camel, 1238.

Al Camel, by ſettling in Egypt, loſt the ſtates of Syria. The princes of Balk and Edeſſa took Damaſcus. He however recovered it, and combated, during his whole reign, with unequal ſucceſs againſt thoſe who wiſhed to deprive him of the reſt. He was no leſs embarraſſed in Egypt, tormented ſometimes by the quarrels among his chriſtian ſubjects, the jacobites, and the Greeks, who occaſioned great diſturbance; ſometimes by the oppoſition of his brothers or his relations; but oftener by the re-

volt of the emirs. His courage and prudence enabled him to triumph over all his enemies. He was fond of men of letters, collected them around him by his munificence, and took pleasure in their converſation. At the time of his death Nojmoddin, his eldeſt ſon, was carrying on war in Syria. The emirs proclaimed ſultan, Ala Del, his youngeſt. The eldeſt haſtened to aſſert his right; and as he returned in force, the ſame emirs who had given the crown to his brother, transferred it to the moſt powerful.

Nojmoddin, reflecting on this inconſtancy of the great, thought he could procure ſtability to his power independently of their caprices, by increaſing the number of the mamalukes. Theſe were a body compoſed of Circaſſian ſlaves, vagabonds, and banditti, without country and without relations, who knew no other maſter than he by whom they were paid. The predeceſſors of Nojmoddin, from the time of Saladin, had maintained bodies of them, to whom they entruſted the guard of their perſon. The ſultan augmented them, placed them in his forteſſes, and by their means kept the emirs in ſubjection during his whole reign: but this militia, after his death, became extremely fatal to Al Malek his ſon. Nojmoddin, 1239.

Though at a diſtance when his father died, he was acknowledged as ſultan, through the policy of a favourite concubine of his father, named Al Malek, 250.

Shajr-al-dor, as celebrated by her genius and courage as by her beauty. She took advantage of the cabals of the emirs to make them ſenſible that the kingdem had need of one chief, eſpecially at a time when threatened by the victorious arms of Louis IX. king of France, who was advancing towards the capital. Al Malek was therefore proclaimed in the midſt of confuſion and intrigues. The victory he gained over Louis IX. at Maſſoura, which ought to have ſecured him on the throne, was the cauſe of his loſing it. The mamalukes, become inſolent on account of their numbers and ſucceſs, wanted to impoſe laws on the ſultan in regard to the ranſom of his priſoner. He reſiſted their pretenſions, and was ſo imprudent as to let drop ſome hints that he intended to diſmiſs that inſolent body. The emirs, the chiefs of the mamalukes, diſcovered that Al Malek was propoſing to make peace with the king of France, on condition that the latter, with the excellent and well-diſciplined troops which he had ſtill remaining, would aſſiſt him to ſubdue the rebellious corps. Theſe chiefs communicated their diſcovery to the ſoldiers, and the revolt inſtantly became general. The young prince, who went forth to appeaſe them, was wounded by Roenoddin, one of the emirs, and took ſhelter in a wooden tower on the banks of the Nile. The enraged ſoldiery purſued him to his retreat and

ſet it on fire. The ſultan jumped into the Nile to ſave himſelf by ſwimming, but he was pierced by their arrows even in the ſtream.

The ſucceſſion to the throne occaſioned new ſcenes of confuſion. The rebellious ſoldiers firſt placed upon it the artful concubine, who had procured the crown for Al Malek; but being afterwards aſhamed to ſee themſelves commanded by a woman, and a ſlave, they proclaimed Al Moez, one of their principal emirs. As he diſpleaſed them, they were ſeized with remorſe for having excluded from their inheritance the dynaſty of the Ayabites. They ſearched for and diſcovered a prince of that race, who was exceedingly well ſuited to their purpoſe, being only ſix years of age, ſo that the principal emirs governed under his name. They aſſigned to him as regent and tutor Azzoddin, who by the addreſs of Shajr-al-dor, whom he married, did not long confine himſelf to theſe titles. He took poſſeſſion of the throne himſelf, and was the founder of the mamaluke ſultans, who were afterwards deſtroyed by the Turks.

Islands of Africa.

The iſlands of the Red Sea may be conſidered as appendages of Egypt. I ſhall add to them thoſe of the ocean, which ſurround this large peninſula as far as the Strait of Gibraltar.

Bab-el-mandel divides into two parts the en-

trance of the Red Sea, which it commands. It was formerly the cauſe of bloody wars between the Abyſſinians and the Arabs; but at preſent, while the Turks are maſters of the two coaſts, it is of no importance. It is a mountain of ſand, two or three leagues in circumference, which produces neither fruit nor corn, vegetables nor graſs, and is inhabited only by a few wretched fiſhermen. The iſland of Suachem, near the Red Sea, is larger, but not more valuable. Barbora, oppoſite to the kingdom of Adel, is inhabited by negroes, who carry on a conſiderable trade. It contains excellent paſtures.

Zocotora, near Cape Gardafui, is fifty leagues in circumference, and has two excellent harbours: it is governed by a prince, tributary to the Porte, and is fertile and well peopled. It produces aloes, frankincenſe, ambergris, rice, dates, and coral. The inhabitants call themſelves Arabs, and are honeſt in their dealings. The air here is exceedingly warm, but it is moderated by the dews. The dreſs of both ſexes is light, and ſerves rather as ornament than as a covering. They ſalute each other by an inclination of the head: this was the ſalutation of the ancient Arabs. They follow the mahometan religion; are unacquained with the arts and the ſciences, and believe themſelves very learned when they know enough to enable them to carry on their trade.

We are, however, told by ſome travellers, that this ignorance can be aſcribed only to a particular race of theſe inhabitants, whom they call Zocotorines; they are ſaid to be wanderers, or Bedouins, who live like the brutes. There are among them half Bedouins or quarter Bedouins, according as they approach more or leſs to the civilization of the Arabs. If theſe travellers have not been deceived, or do not deceive, there are two very ſingular cuſtoms among the Zocotorines in regard to nativity and death. When a father finds that his wife is near the time of delivery, he kindles a fire before the door of his hut, and declares, with a loud voice, that he commits the child about to be born to ſuch a perſon to be his adoptive father. On this occaſion, he no doubt takes care to name one who is in a condition to maintain it. As ſoon as the child is brought into the world it is carried to the adopter, who educates it, according to theſe travellers, with all the tenderneſs of a real father. This, however, may not be the caſe in general. Theſe children are called the *children of ſmoke*. It thence happens that a man of a benevolent diſpoſition, who has no iſſue of his own, may find himſelf burdened with a multitude of children; and what is ſtill more ſingular, it is not uncommon that he, who in this manner has got rid of his own children adopts others, and repays the af-

fection ſhewn to his own offspring by that which he ſhews to the offspring of others. The women, it is ſaid, enjoy a like privilege of declaring, before they are brought to bed, to whom they conſign the child which they are about to bring forth.

Another ſingularity, but a very cruel one, is, that the Zocotorines make no diſtinction between the dead and the dying. As ſoon as ſuch perſons are given over, without waiting for the reſult of thoſe efforts which nature ſometimes makes in a moment of criſis, they inter them before they have breathed their laſt: it would be inhuman, they ſay, to allow them to remain in a ſtate of ſuffering. When the father of a family is in that condition, he ſends for his children, his wives, his relations, domeſtics, and all thoſe with whom he is in any manner connected, and exhorts them never to abandon the cuſtoms of their anceſtors; never to form alliances with ſtrangers; to be revenged of thoſe who inſult them; and never to allow relations to ſuffer when they can relieve them by death. In regard to him, this laſt part of the exhortation is immediately executed. It is accompliſhed, in general, by making the patient ſwallow a white liquor, which diſtills from a tree, and which is a ſpeedy poiſon, infallible in its effect. The part of the exhortation which relates to vengeance is put in practice with equal fidelity. There are

few countries, therefore, in which murder is more common than in Zocotora.

Travellers have believed that they could diſcover traces of chriſtianity in the religious ceremonies of ſome parts of this iſland, becauſe the inhabitants have prieſts and croſſes, employ proceſſions, and preſerve the name of certain ſaints. But, on cloſer examination, theſe croſſes are only ſtaves uſed for ornament without any reference to religion; and their prieſts ignorant men, unacquainted with chriſtianity. They cauſe their proſelytes to make proceſſions in honour of the moon, which is the principal object of their worſhip. In regard to the names of their ſaints, they are ſo different from thoſe we know, that none but thoſe determined, at all events, to diſcover chriſtianity in Zocotora could find in them the leaſt reſemblance. It is true, indeed, that the word *Mary* is common; but in their language it ſignifies a woman. It is not however impoſſible, that as this iſland was peopled from Greece by Alexander, at the requeſt of Ariſtotle, in order to ſecure the trade carried on with aloes, chriſtianity may have been tranſplanted thither when it was extended to Greece; but the pretended traces which remain of it can ſcarcely afford any grounds for a conjecture of this kind. The Zocotorines are ſo attached to circumciſion, that they deprive thoſe of a finger whoſe parents have neglected to perform this operation, or who

refuſe to ſubmit to it. They are a warlike people, and well armed. Though they reſide in an iſland they are abſolutely ignorant of navigation, and have no veſſels but a few wretched rafts, which they employ for fiſhing. It might, however, be expected that they would have a few barks made in imitation of thoſe which frequent their iſland for the ſake of commerce.

Madagascar.

Madagaſcar, the largeſt iſland in the world, is accompanied with others placed at different diſtances from it. I have already ſpoken of Bourbon and the Iſle of France. Saint Mary is exceedingly fertile, and the neareſt to the large iſland. Rodrigue is the moſt diſtant in the ocean. Madagaſcar extends along the coaſt of Africa, and is ſaid to be eight hundred leagues in circumference. The ſtrait between this iſland and the continent is called the channel of Moſambique. It is the ſhorteſt route to India, and that generally purſued unleſs when veſſels are driven from their courſe by tempeſts. It has good roads and harbours. The French were the firſt Europeans who formed ſettlements at Madagaſcar. Others touched there, but none of them penetrated ſo far into the country. This iſland contains iron, ſilver, and gold, precious ſtones, ſulphur, ſaline ſprings, mineral waters, and others the ſurface of which is covered with

a ſort of bitumen. The numerous rivers which interſect the country are bordered by fields proper for cultivation, and abounding with paſture. All ſorts of fruit-trees grow on the hills; and the mountains produce timber fit for every kind of building.

The inhabitants are divided into whites and blacks. The former appear to be deſcended from the Arabs: the latter conſiſt of four claſſes. The principal claſs, who are rather of a copper colour than black, have no affinity to the negroes either in their hair, which is long and ſmooth, or in their features. They are ſuppoſed to be the oldeſt inhabitants, and perhaps the aborigines if poſſible. The other claſſes have more or leſs of the negro, according to the mixtures which have taken place. The iſland is divided into provinces; ſome of which are ſo populous that they can ſend into the field a hundred thouſand men in arms. The manners of the different tribes are doubtleſs not uniformly the ſame; and in ſo great an extent of country, I ſhall mention only what is moſt general, or what may appear moſt intereſting by its ſingularity. In regard to natural productions, they are ſo various in the vegetable and animal kingdom, that the nomenclature alone is aſtoniſhing. No country perhaps has ſo many productions peculiar to itſelf, beſides thoſe which it poſſeſſes in common with other parts of the world: among theſe are

wine and oil, ſix kinds of honey, gums, ſugar-canes, pepper, rice, yams, nouriſhing roots, ginger, cocoa-nuts, ſaffron, betel, with poiſonous, odoriferous, and fibrous plants proper for making cloth. All our quadrupeds, both wild and domeſtic, are found in it, and a great many with which we are not acquainted; as well as inſects, birds, and fiſhes, the laſt of which are extremely abundant in the rivers and on the ſea coaſts.

The province of Matotane is the ſeat of ſuperſtition, though the inhabitants have neither temples nor moſques; but their prieſts, who are at the ſame time phyſicians, aſtrologers, and divines, diſpenſe to them, for money and preſents, ſmall billets inſcribed with Arabic or unknown characters. Thoſe who receive theſe billets preſerve them carefully in a leather bag, which they wear ſuſpended from the neck, and they believe that while furniſhed with ſuch amulets they can be affected neither by rains nor wind, thunder nor death. They can brave even the force of poiſon and the arms of their enemies, who, as they imagine, are now rendered incapable of wounding them, of plundering their houſes, or burning their villages. They are univerſal preſervatives. The prieſts of Matotane, who are celebrated for making theſe amulets, ſell them alſo in the other provinces.

The people of the bay of Atongil and their neighbours are diſtinguiſhed by a name which

ſignifies the deſcendants of Abraham. They obſerve the ſabbath and circumciſion; but they have retained none of the other Jewiſh practices, which muſt have been loſt or confounded with their own;—for theſe people are ſuppoſed to be really of Jewiſh extraction. They are remarkably cheerful;—a character which they diſplay, both male and female, in their labours. Their favourite occupation is agriculture. Their women diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe of the other parts of the iſland by their prudence and reſerve. Two natural curioſities, which are not far from their country, deſerve attention. The firſt is the *anramatico*, a large plant, the flowers of which have the form of a vaſe with a cover. They are full of water, and contain about four pints. The other is the *fone*, a kind of porcupine as large as a cat, the fleſh of which is excellent food. It produces not leſs than twenty young ones at a time, and conceals itſelf in the earth in a very extraordinary manner. It firſt digs two feet in a perpendicular direction; then two or three obliquely; and again aſcends within half a foot of the ſurface, where it conſtructs for itſelf a lodging: and though it remains there five or ſix months, without nouriſhment, comes out in as good condition as when it entered. Its fleſh is in great requeſt among thoſe fond of dainties.

The varieties of the ape ſpecies at Madagaſcar are exceedingly numerous. Ought we to

claſs among theſe animals, or among men, naked beings with long beards and briſtly hair, which inhabit the thickeſt foreſts, avoid intercourſe with the other iſlanders, and live upon fiſh, game, roots, honey, and locuſts, without any idea of agriculture? As they have a certain kind of jargon, and as both ſexes cover their private parts, they are placed in the claſs of the human ſpecies.

Cuſtom, and that kind of obligation impoſed on travellers to give people a national character, have made them aſſert, that the iſlanders of Madagaſcar are revengeful, treacherous, and exceedingly cruel. The manner in which they treat their priſoners of war is adduced as a proof of the laſtmentioned quality. They take a barbarous delight in hacking to pieces infants; ripping up the bellies of pregnant women, and of ſuffering them, in that manner, to expire. Nothing is wanting to complete this picture but that they ſhould eat them; which it is ſaid they do in ſome cantons of the iſland, where they preſent the hands to their chiefs as the moſt delicious morſel.

They are fond of ſinging and dancing; but converſation and walking they think inſipid. The latter, like all ſouthern nations, they conſider as folly; becauſe to go continually backwards and forwards is fatiguing one's ſelf to no purpoſe. They are not unacquainted with any

of the arts neceſſary for life; but they exerciſe them in a manner different from us, both in regard to the methods they employ, and the form, as well as the materials, of their clothes, furniture, and utenſils. Their workmen, like thoſe of India, labour as much with their feet as their hands. They ſerve the workers in iron, gold, ſilver, and wood, as a vice to hold faſt the pieces on which they are employed; the potters as a wheel; and enable the weavers, ſpinners, and tailors, to finiſh and perfect their works. Agriculture in this happy country is not attended with much trouble. The fields are every year covered with thick graſs, which being dried by the ſun is ſet on fire. When it is burnt, the inhabitants turn over the aſhes, and ſow their ſeed, which ſoon ſprings up, and produces an abundant crop. Fiſhing and hunting require more labour. As theſe people live at their eaſe, they give frequent entertainments to each other. On theſe occaſions, ſinging and dancing form always a part of their amuſements. Their ſinging is not inharmonious, nor is their dancing deſtitute of regularity in its movements.

Stuffs of thread, made from bark or plants; gold and ſilver tiſſue, or embroidery, applied different ways to the body; chains, bracelets, collars, and ear-rings; form the dreſs and ornaments of both ſexes. Polygamy is allowed among them in its utmoſt latitude. Every man may keep as

many wives as he chooſes, and can maintain. The women, on their ſide, do not confine themſelves to one huſband. They have often two or three gallants, and often abandon the huſband for the lover. In this reſpect the daughters do not degenerate from their mothers; and ſince promiſcuous intercourſe is thus authorized, it is aſtoniſhing that there ſhould be any marriages at all. The ceremony indeed is ſo ſimple, that ſcarcely any remembrance of it can remain. A little more ſolemnity might ſtrengthen their fidelity. They employ dancing at their funerals. The relations and friends of the male ſex firſt begin to lament over the body, which is ſurrounded by tapers, while the women and girls dance with the utmoſt gravity. The latter then go and lament in their turn, aſking the deceaſed why he quitted life; whether he was unhappy in it, or had not a ſufficiency of gold, ſilver, and ſlaves. They afterwards return to their dancing, while the men aſk queſtions of the like kind; and theſe ſcenes are ſucceſſively repeated, till the body is carried out to be interred. At the grave they offer up ſacrifices, the greater part of which is deſtined for the devil, whom they fear much more than they do God. Theſe offerings are renewed from time to time, eſpecially in moments of diſtreſs. The perſon who makes the offering then approaches the grave, and ſays: "Thou "who art now preſent with God, give me advice

" reſpecting this or that affair;" which ſhews that they believe, if not in the immortality, at leaſt in the ſurvivance of the ſoul.

The ſame language is ſpoken throughout the whole iſland; but the pronunciation is different, which makes thoſe who do not pay particular attention believe that it has different dialects: the baſis of this language is Arabic intermixed with Greek. The natives write from right to left. Their paper is beautiful. It is made in the ſame manner as ours, by reducing to a paſte the bark of trees. Their commerce is carried on by exchange. They employ as a circulating medium gold and ſilver, but not in coin. They cut off at hazard a piece equal in value to the article they wiſh to purchaſe, and they are ſeldom miſtaken in the quantity. Their war conſiſts in attacking the enemy by ſurprize. They march along unknown routes; creep on the ground; conceal themſelves in ambuſh, and ruſh upon their prey like ferocious animals: like them alſo, they knock down, maſſacre, and deſtroy. To their cruelty they add devaſtation by fire. They have arms of all kinds. Dancing acts a conſpicuous part here likewiſe. While the men are in the field, the women dance day and night, and neither eat nor ſleep in their houſes; but even thoſe moſt inclined to voluptuouſneſs never allow themſelves the ſmalleſt

liberty; as they believe that if they did ſo, their huſbands would be infallibly killed or wounded.

Theſe iſlanders believe in the exiſtence of one God, the creator of heaven and earth, who is the author of all good; and of a devil, the author of all miſchief, who has a great number of companions. They dread the latter much more than they do God, and mention him firſt in their prayers. If we can credit ſome travellers, it might be believed that the natives of Madagaſcar have a perfect knowledge of our religion. The fall of Adam, the deluge, the Virgin Mary, the death of Jeſus Chriſt, have all been found by theſe travellers in the converſation of their prieſts, but intermixed with fables, in which we muſt ſearch for the truth. It appears, however, that theſe fables are the foundation of their belief; and that the truths pretended to have been found in them are the fruits of the imagination of travellers, who, full of their own principles, believed they could trace them out in ſome ambiguous traditions, or ſome rites analogous to thoſe practiſed in the chriſtian religion. Conſidering the reſpect which theſe iſlanders pay to circumciſion, they ought rather to be Jews: it is performed throughout the whole iſland on the ſame day, and with the utmoſt ſolemnity. There are many mahometans among them; but whatever may be their reli-

gion, they have great faith in conjurors, ſorcerers, and amulets. They would be deficient in one part of ſuperſtition if they had not fortunate and unfortunate days.

Scattered Islands.

The Commora Iſles, ſituated at the entrance of one branch of the channel of Moſambique, are, according to the moſt authentic accounts, five in number: they are unequal in ſize, being from ten to forty and fifty leagues in circumference; but equal in regard to fertility. I ſhall here mention what is moſt remarkable in their productions, and the manners of the people, without being very particular in ſpecifying to which of the iſlands it belongs. Their rice, when boiled, becomes of a violet colour. The inhabitants of Augazya never ſuffer ſtrangers to ſee their women, without permiſſion from the ſultan. Their government is ariſtocratic, and the women take a ſhare in it. Thoſe of Juanne are negroes, hoſpitable, ſimple, and open; void of ambition, and extremely indolent. Every thing is done by the women, while the men are employed in ſmoking and chewing betel. The kings live in a familiar manner with their ſubjects, without any pomp or diſtinction, except that of adminiſtering juſtice. They burn the devil in effigy, as they have nothing farther in Commora Iſles.

their power. The place where a man has died fills them with horror, and they fly from it.

Between Madagaſcar and the continent there are ſeveral ſmall deſert iſles, which from their productions are called Rabbit Iſland, Deer Iſland, and Sheep Iſland. The tails of ſome of theſe ſheep have been found to be twenty-nine inches in diameter, and to weigh thirty-four pounds. The iſland where they are bred, and become ſo fat, is ſandy; produces nothing but briars, and is deſtitute of freſh water.

St. Helena, in the Great Pacific Ocean, has been formerly a deſert. Aſcenſion is barren, without graſs, and without water; but it has an excellent port, and abundance of tortoiſes and fiſh. In the rocks there is a place called the *Poſt Office*, becauſe thoſe who land on the iſland leave a letter there ſealed up in a bottle. The next who arrive break the ſeal, take out the paper, and leave another in its ſtead. St. Matthew is uninhabited; but it contains land capable of cultivation.

Nearer to the continent are the iſles of Annobon, which are fertile and pretty well peopled. A Portugueſe governor reſides here, and the negroes have a chief alſo. The iſland of Trinity lies in the Ethiopic gulph. The inhabitants are of ſmall ſtature; and it is even ſaid that young navigators, who have not attained to their full

growth, if they reſide on this iſland never become bigger. The air is unwholeſome, and often loaded with fogs, the pernicious effects of which cannot be avoided, but by confinement within doors. The inhabitants have annually two crops; but they pay dearly for this advantage by the cruel diſeaſes with which they are tormented. This ſmall ſpot, of about twelve leagues in circumference, produces excellent ſugar-canes, from which the negroes make ſugar. The Portugueſe, who form part of the population, call themſelves catholic chriſtians, which indeed they are as far as their ignorance and ſuperſtition will allow. When the Dutch took this poſt, of ſo great importance to their commerce, the governor was dignified with the proud title of viceroy. The inhabitants of Cacombe articulate words, and walk upright; but their women have no more modeſty than brutes. This is all we know of them. In Prince's Iſland the inhabitants go naked, except their women and chief. The former wear on their head, by way of ornament, a chaplet of flowers: they have a croſs ſuſpended from their neck; and, like Amazons, bear in their hand a cimeter. The inhabitants of Fernand Lopez are ſavages. They are ſaid to be of a treacherous, ferocious, and barbarous diſpoſition: becauſe, perhaps, they are miſtruſtful of the Europeans, and do not ſuffer them to land on their iſland, without great precaution.

Cape Verd Islands.

The Cape Verd Iſlands are ſo called becauſe they lie between Cape Blanc and Cape Verd in Africa, but nearer to the latter. When diſcovered by the Portugueſe, they were uninhabited; but perhaps they had not been ſo always. They were peopled by that nation. Mayo produces excellent ſalt, which is entirely the work of nature. The places where it ſpontaneouſly ſhoots into cryſtals is ſurrounded by rocks, and the water enters it by a narrow paſſage like a ſluice. This iſland contains three ſmall towns; but the ſoil is dry and parched. The air is ſalubrious, and the inhabitants are healthy. The ſterility of the iſland obliges them to live temperately; but they are not, on that account, of leſs ſize, or leſs vigorous. It has a negro governor, who holds his commiſſion from the Portugueſe governor. The ſea abounds with fiſh, and particularly doradoes. The flamingo, a large bird which frequents the marſhes, and often flies to a great diſtance, builds its neſt of clay in the form of a cone. It depoſits its eggs on the ſummit, and placing its body againſt the ſide of the cone, covers them with its tail: were they covered by its body they would be cruſhed. Bonaviſta is ſo called becauſe it affords a beautiful proſpect towards the ſea. The nature and property of the Iſle of Sal is indicated by its name.

St. Nicholas has two ports, and excellent water. St. Vincent is almoſt inacceſſible; but it is frequented by ſhips which take in cargoes of hides procured from the wild cattle. St. Lucia is high and mountainous. St. Anthony is diſtinguiſhed by a mountain little inferior in height to the peak of Teneriffe. The negroes carry on an advantageous trade in fruits with the veſſels which paſs and repaſs. The iſland of Fuego takes its name from a volcano: it produces vines. Brava is almoſt a deſert. This liſt is cloſed by St. Jago, one of the largeſt of the Cape Verd Iſlands, being about thirty leagues in circumference. It is the moſt conſiderable, and the beſt cultivated of the whole. A governor and a biſhop reſide on the iſland: it contains a pretty large town named Praya, with a ſtrong fort which defends the harbour: but there is another larger, which is the capital; and, like the iſland, named St. Jago. It produces abundance of cotton, with which it carries on a great trade; and, in other reſpects, is exceedingly fertile. Its horſes are held in high eſtimation. In all theſe iſlands the catholic prieſts have the charge of the body as well as the ſoul, being phyſicians, ſurgeons, and apothecaries.

The Canary Isles.

Travellers, when they paſs the furnace of the African iſles, and get beyond Cape Verd, into

the delightful temperature of the Canaries, which the ancients called the Fortunate Iſles, experience the ſame pleaſure as thoſe who after a ſcorching day breathe the cool air of an agreeable evening. The name Canaries is ſaid to have ariſen from the Canaanites, who uſed to trade hither. Theſe people found here no doubt what we find ſtill—excellent fruits, and cattle to afford them freſh proviſions after their long navigation. It is not known whether they formerly produced rice, which is abundant at preſent. They ſupply tar for veſſels, and thoſe pretty birds, named after them, which our young ladies make the companions of their ſolitude.

When the Portugueſe ſettled in theſe iſles, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, they found them inhabited by a people whoſe origin is unknown. They all ſpoke the ſame language, which they ſtill retain. It has no reſemblance to any of ours. Their manners, cuſtoms, and religion, were almoſt the ſame in all the different iſlands. In Grand Canary their number amounted to thirty-thouſand; and in Teneriffe, to fifteen thouſand men, women, and children. They are ſaid to have been barbarous people; yet their ferocity did not induce them to inflict more ſevere puniſhment on the Spaniards, who had maltreated them, and who fell into their hands, than that of making them guard their cattle. They called themſelves, and are ſtill

named, Guanches; were of a gigantic ſtature, which has ſince decreaſed; and had a ſingular dexterity of throwing ſtones with a force equal to that of a muſket-ball. This talent has, in a great meaſure, been loſt by diſuſe. Their other arms were ſticks ſharpened to a point which was hardened in the fire, or headed with a piece of horn. Polygamy was admitted among them. The virginity of every woman who married belonged to the chief; and both the huſband and wife conſidered it as a mark of great diſtinction when he deigned to make uſe of his right. Every time the chief was renewed, which happened on the death of the preceding one, a certain number of perſons, of both ſexes, ſacrificed themſelves in honour of him, and to render his reign happy. The devotion of theſe victims was rewarded by the favours which the monarch conferred on their families. The Guanches are active and lively; naturally warlike; and ſo nimble that they climb the ſteepeſt rocks, jump from the one to the other by the help of a pole, though at a conſiderable diſtance, and ſtand on the extremity of the moſt projecting point, provided there is room only to receive their toes. There is no certainty of keeping them, even when ſhut up in towers, as they find means to ſcale the inſide of the walls; and by balancing their bodies are enabled to overcome every obſtacle. They ſpeak their native language with great rapidity, and

pronounce only with their teeth and lips. The few who remain of theſe people have become chriſtians through a dread of the inquiſition.

Palma is almoſt twenty-ſix leagues in circumference, and contains a volcano, the eruptions of which are not uncommon: they are generally preceded by an earthquake. It has a very pretty town, produces excellent wine, and its malmſey is in high requeſt. Ferro, or the Iſland of Iron, which the French make their firſt meridian, as the Dutch do Teneriffe, has neither ſprings, wells, nor rivers. No water is conveyed to it from any other place, and yet eight thouſand ſouls, and above eleven thouſand quadrupeds, meet with an abundant ſupply of that neceſſary article. A tree reſembling an oak, which grows in the middle of the iſland, is daily covered with a thick cloud; from this cloud a kind of pure ſweet water diſtils on the leaves and branches, from which it trickles down into a large ſtone reſervoir to the quantity of twenty hogſheads. This ſingular phenomenon is atteſted by travellers, ſome of whom aſſert that they ſaw the tree, and is not contradicted but by one, who is no farther a philoſopher, ſay ſome authors, than by being incredulous. This is an aſtoniſhing fact, yet not impoſſible; and every thing that is not impoſſible, and is certified as truth by men of judgment and good ſenſe, may be believed. It would, however, have been more

credible had theſe travellers made ſeveral trees and reſervoirs inſtead of one.

Gomera produces ſugar-canes and wine. The inhabitants of this iſland admit a community of women. Every man, indeed, has one of his own, but they would think it uncivil not to lend their wives to thoſe who aſk them. It is always the ſiſter's ſon who inherits. Teneriffe is celebrated by its peak or mountain, which can be ſeen at ſea from the diſtance of more than thirty leagues. It is a volcano which throws up aſhes, ſtones, and burning lava. Its crater is called by the Spaniards the *devil's cauldron*. The Guanches conſider it to be the mouth of hell. The greater part of theſe people who outlived the devaſtation occaſioned by the Spaniards are found in Teneriffe, where they have a town inhabited entirely by themſelves. They ſtill ſpeak their own language, which has ſome analogy to that of the Moors in Barbary. They acknowledge one ſupreme being, whom they believe to be good and compaſſionate. It appears by their traditions, that they once had a king to whom they ſwore fidelity. Their laws were few in number. Except for great crimes, they had no puniſhment but ſhame, that painful ſentiment, a torment inſeparable from thoſe who do evil. Their monarchs had no other palaces than thoſe formed by nature in the boſom of the rocks. Caves are ſtill ſeen there, which are diſ-

tinguiſhed by the name of the *royal caverns*. Mutual conſent was ſufficient to conſtitute marriage, and repugnance or diſguſt to produce a divorce. Beſides, reſpect for the ſex was a fundamental law, which could never be infringed without incurring the pain of death. They practiſed a kind of baptiſm, which was performed by ſome young woman in the neighbourhood, who, on the requeſt of the parents, poured a little water over the head of the new born infant: by this ceremony ſhe contracted an alliance with the family. The education of young perſons was entirely confined to bodily exerciſes. They embalmed their dead. This office and art were reſerved for the prieſts and prieſteſſes, the former of whom embalmed the men, and the latter the women. Their veſtments ſerved both to conceal their nakedneſs and as an ornament. It is not aſtoniſhing that Teneriffe ſhould be the principal habitation of the Guanches. On account of its fruits and ſhady groves, the fragrance of the air and happy ſituation, it is perhaps the moſt delightful ſpot in the univerſe. Grand Canary is called alſo Palma, from the name of its capital. In fertility and beauty it rivals Teneriffe. Forteventura and Lancerota are two pretty large iſlands, accompanied with four ſmaller ones—St. Clara, Gracioſa, Rocca, and Allgranza.

Madeira and the Azores.

Madeira and Porto Santo lie almoſt exactly oppoſite to the mouth of the Strait of Gibraltar, but at a great diſtance in the ocean. The former is about forty leagues in circumference. It is celebrated for its excellent wine, and the ſavour of its fruits, of which the inhabitants by means of the ſugar produced in the iſland make the beſt preſerves in the world. The clergy here are exceedingly rich. The churches are places of rendezvous for lovers, for people of buſineſs, and for thoſe who go abroad on parties of pleaſure. As ſoon as divine ſervice is over they become like an exchange or coffee-houſe. When there are ſeveral daughters in a family, they walk two and two before the mother, having their faces covered by large veils, but their neck and ſhoulders quite bare. They are attended by an old man, who walks gravely by their ſide with a ſword, a poniard, and a chaplet; but this formidable eſcort does not prevent ogling and other ſigns with all their uſual conſequences. Some authors have given the laſt touch to this picture, by telling us that every vice, and particularly incontinence, prevails here throughout all ranks: The Portugueſe in this iſland are haughtier than any-where elſe. The meaneſt valet walks in ſtate with his ſword and his poniard, and footmen never wait at table

without a long rapier by their ſide. The number of aſylums renders murder very common. An aſſaſſin need only touch the wall of a chapel to be in ſafety. Porto-Santo lies oppoſite to the kingdom of Morocco. The Portugueſe Eaſt-India ſhips touch here to procure freſh proviſions. It has never yet been determined whether the Azores belong to Africa, America, or Europe: they are at an equal diſtance from all theſe parts of the world in the Atlantic Ocean, and are exceedingly convenient to the Portugueſe for their voyages to Braſil. The air in theſe iſlands is remarkably healthful, and no venomous or noxious animal can exiſt in them. The ſailors, it is ſaid, when they arrive here are immediately freed from all vermin. Pico, which is almoſt as high as Teneriffe, can be ſeen at a great diſtance. St. Michael would be a delightful abode, were not the inhabitants in continual dread of being ſwallowed up by earthquakes. St. Mary, ſurrounded by rocks, reſembles a fortified caſtle: it produces nouriſhing roots, has ſeveral boiling fountains, one of which is of a petrifying quality, and abounds with proviſions of every kind. It is ſurrounded by a tempeſtuous ſea. Storms are announced by a cloud which covers the ſummit of the higheſt mountain in the iſland. A ſort of murmuring noiſe is heard in the air, the cattle ſeem uneaſy, and the birds retire to places of concealment. The

ſea becomes agitated, and ſhips muſt fly as ſoon as poſſible, and abandon this dangerous coaſt. Angra is the capital of Tercera, and of all the Azores: it is the reſidence of the governor and the ſuffragan biſhop of Liſbon: it contains immenſe magazines of naval ſtores for the refitting of veſſels. Praya, a place of conſiderable trade, is the ſafeſt haven in the iſland. Fagel takes its name from the beech-trees with which it is covered. It is not deſtitute of cedar, and other valuable kinds of timber. Corvo abounds with ravens. In the laſt place, Gracioſa and Flores indicate, by their names alone, the valuable gifts they enjoy from nature, which are ſcattered in profuſion over an extent of five or ſix leagues, amidſt the dreary uniformity of the ocean.

Abyssinia.

The continent of Africa, to which we ſhall now call the reader's attention from the iſlands, preſents a number of ſmall ſtates bordering its coaſts, but few large empires that extend far into the country. The moſt conſiderable of the latter is Abyſſinia. It is believed that this country was the ancient kingdom of Saba, and that it was formerly governed by women. At any rate there are two famous in hiſtory: one who paid a viſit to Solomon, and carried back to her ſtates the Jewiſh religion; the other called Candace, who received from one of her

eunuchs, inſtructed and baptized by the apoſtle Philip, the chriſtian religion. The latter ſtill prevails, but mixed with ſome of the Jewiſh rites. The chriſtianity of the Abyſſinians is the ſame as that of the Copts. The patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt is the head of their church, and confirms their biſhops by admitting them into his communion. The emperor of Abyſſinia muſt, in general, aſſume the prieſthood before his coronation, after which he continues to diſcharge the ſacerdotal functions on occaſions of public ſolemnity. It is for this reaſon, perhaps, that he has been called by the Europeans *Preſter John*, a title of which no other origin is known. It is never given to him by the Abyſſinians.

This empire has loſt twenty-eight provinces through the incurſions of its neighbours, by whom it has been conſiderably reduced: it is, however, ſtill very extenſive. Theſe loſſes ſhew great weakneſs in the great body of the people, much negligence or incapacity in the emperors, and their want of ability to call forth the reſources of ſo fine an empire. Its principal enemies are the Galli or Gallani, who encloſe it on three ſides. Some of the European literati make them to be deſcended from the Jews, tranſported into Aſſyria by Salmonazar, to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, or baniſhed by Titus and Veſpaſian as far as Ethiopia. They employ circum-

ciſion, and this is one of the ſtrongeſt proofs adduced of their Judaiſm. According to the Abyſſinians they came from the eaſtern coaſts of the Red Sea, from which they muſt have been expelled by the Arabs. Theſe exiles may have been originally a tribe of the Celtæ or Gauls, who intermixing with the Caffres and other people of Africa, might have adopted their ferocity, and degenerated from the good qualities of their anceſtors, retaining only their valour. But it is not improbable that they may be the deſcendants of thoſe ancient Ethiopians, celebrated by their courage and invaſions, whoſe ſpirit they have preſerved. Hiſtory, which has left a chaſm of ſeveral centuries between the Ethiopian conquerors whom I have already mentioned in ſpeaking of Judea, and the Abyſſinians who ſeem to occupy their place, exhibits theſe Galli as a generous nation, who always return, without being diſcouraged, to the poſſeſſions which have been torn from them.

They profeſs to believe in one ſupreme being who governs the world, but to whom they pay no worſhip: they ſhew no affection for their children, and ſuffer them to wander about like little ſavages. The children learn of themſelves what they muſt always practiſe—that is, the uſe of arms. They are not ſuffered to quit the badge of infancy, which is long hair, until they have killed a ferocious animal or an enemy.

The moſt convincing proofs muſt be given of their having actually performed this exploit. Their onſet in war is terrible: they never give nor aſk quarter. They have no commander-in-chief. Each tribe has its own, who is elected every eight years. They are called *lubos*. Their firſt operation muſt be an incurſion into the empire of Abyſſinia, which ſerves them as a paleſtra or place of exerciſe. It would have been abſolutely deſtroyed long ago had they not been often engaged in civil wars, which afforded ſome reſpite to the Abyſſinians.

This empire lies entirely in the torrid zone, yet, on account of the great rains, the foreſts, mountains, and rivers, there are diſtricts in it as temperate as Spain and Portugal; but the low ſandy plains reflect a heat inſupportable to any other people except Abyſſinians. The winds here are impetuous, the thunder awful, and the rains like torrents: the ſeaſon of theſe meteors is unwholeſome, and produces diſeaſes. The moiſture and the heat—the valuable means of fecundity—cover their meadows with graſs always renewed, and their trees with bloſſom and fruits at the ſame time. They promote the ſpeedy vegetation of a kind of very ſmall grain, called *teff*, of which they make excellent bread, the principal part of their nouriſhment. Nature, while ſhe gave to the Abyſſinians ſerpents of an immenſe ſize, made

them a preſent of a plant, by the touch and ſmell of which alone, it is ſaid, they are thrown into a ſtate of torpor. Some of theſe monſters have a large mouth, which they open to a prodigious extent, inhale a great quantity of air, and having retained it ſome time, throw it out with ſuch force, and in ſuch abundance, that they can overturn and poiſon at the diſtance of ſeveral paces.

Abyſſinia has all our quadrupeds, but with ſome variation. The oxen, for example, are of ſuch prodigious ſize, that one of their horns is capable of containing more than twenty pints. In others the horns are ſo ſoft and flexible that they hang down like a broken arm. Their horſes are remarkably beautiful: there is one kind as large as the elephant, but better and more delicately made. A man may paſs under their belly without ſtooping. The Abyſſinians do not tame their elephants: they remain in a wild ſtate, and are very deſtructive. Their plains are ravaged alſo by the rhinoceros, as well as by lions and tigers. The crocodile and the hippopotamus are in the Nile, the largeſt river of Abyſſinia, as if in their empire. The former of theſe amphibious animals is well known, but the ſecond is almoſt inacceſſible, and never diſcovers itſelf but by the deſtruction it occaſions. This animal is almoſt as large as the elephant, and like it is armed with tuſks. It is called the ſea-horſe, though it

partakes more of the ox than of the former. It is leſs formidable at land, on account of its weight, than it is in the water, where it often overſets barks and other ſmall veſſels: it tears and devours not ſo much for the ſake of food as to glut itſelf with blood. When it bellows the earth is ſaid to tremble. At land it ſhuns man and flies from him, but the female is extremely dangerous when ſhe has young. The male aſſociates with ſeveral; and, like the cock amidſt his hens, ſeems attentive and jealous, and never ſuffers a rival.

The cramp-fiſh is common in Abyſſinia. It is employed in medicine, being applied in caſes of fever as if to render the diſeaſe torpid. The *pipi*, a ſingular bird, attaches itſelf to ſportſmen, and never leaves them till it has pointed out game, becauſe it lives on the offals; but they muſt take care to follow it well armed as it may ſometimes lead them alſo to a dangerous animal, ſuch as a ſerpent or tiger. Another bird, called *moroc*, enables the natives to diſcover honey, which is made by a certain kind of bees below the earth. Abyſſinia is often ravaged by clouds of locuſts, which occaſion famine by devouring the plants, and peſtilence by their dead bodies, which cannot all be burnt or interred. They are eaten freſh, or dried and reduced to powder, which is afterwards converted into a paſte; but it is not an agreeable food.

ough there are a great many mahometans, and pagans, in Abyſſinia, the chriſtians are ioſt numerous. Of the idolatry of the is very little is known; but it ſeems to t rather in ſuperſtitious rites than in the ation of idols. The court language is a ure of almoſt all thoſe of the empire: it is ient neither in expreſſion nor richneſs. The ent Ethiopic ſtill retains its dignity; it is loyed in the emperors' letters patent, in the lic regiſters, and divine ſervice.

The Abyſſinians, if we except thoſe Ethiopians o at Rome in the time of Auguſtus were ught horridly ugly, are well made; they are a tall majeſtic ſtature; rather brown than r; have lively ſparkling eyes; a well-ſhaped ſe, not at all flat; thin lips, and very white eth. Their diſpoſition inclines them to be rtuous: they poſſeſs all the ſimplicity of nature; ave a great deal of candour, and exhibit every gn of innocence. They rarely quarrel with ach other, and readily ſubmit to the deciſion of the firſt arbiter they meet. The adminiſtration of juſtice is neither tedious nor complex. They are extremely affected in their manners, and remarkably fond of dreſs. Their wives are allowed to viſit their relations. Thoſe of quality do not lay their inclinations under any reſtraint—a privilege not very agreeable to men of inferior rank, who are fooliſh enough to marry them;

but the relations co pel them to bear their diſgrace with patience. Thoſe of common rank perform all the laborious part of their domeſtic economy. There are ſome kinds of work which the male ſlaves refuſe to do; ſuch as that of grinding their corn, a taſk that occurs every day A marriage to be firm and valid muſt be ſolemnized in church: it is prohibited within certain degrees of conſanguinity, and divorces are allowed. In order that a ſeparation, when it takes place, may occaſion no trouble, each party in general retain their own property. A woman convicted of adultery is puniſhed by ſhaving her head, depriving her of her poſſeſſions, and expelling her in a mean dreſs from the houſe of her huſband to gain her livelihood by her needle. What is very ſingular, a woman is puniſhed alſo for the libertiniſm of her huſband, but only by a ſlight fine: the huſband's infidelity is ſuppoſed to be owing to her fault, as ſhe ought to have found means to pleaſe him.

Their diſhes are excellent, and of various kinds. They drink neither cyder nor wine, though they might make the latter in abundance, but hydromel, the baſis of which is honey brought to a ſtate of fermentation. They never drink but at the end of their meals: their maxim is, that they ought to plant before they water. Their furniture is neat, and more or leſs magnificent according to their riches. The moſt

whimſical article is the pillow of their bed, if we can apply that name to a kind of fork, on which they do not reſt their head but the neck, for fear of deranging their hair which they ſuffer to hang down. The men bind it up in various ways; but the women let it float over their ſhoulders, and intermix it with ornaments of gold and precious ſtones. The emperor alone has a right to make uſe of a cap. It is not long ſince they became acquainted with the tools employed in different arts; and for theſe, as well as for the art of building, they were indebted to the jeſuits: before, they could only place one ſtone above another in an irregular manner. They had no idea of ſtairs, or of different ſtories, which they call a houſe upon a houſe. Notwithſtanding their paucity of tools, they had cloth, ſtuffs exceedingly well wove, and jewels of the neateſt workmanſhip. They ſeldom travel into other countries; and even if they had an inclination to do ſo, they are prevented by the Turks and the Galli, who keep their frontiers as if in a ſtate of blockade. They are unwilling alſo that the entrance into their country ſhould be opened. They depend on factors for diſpoſing of their merchandize by exchange, which is never in favour of the Abyſſinians; ſo that with an inexhauſtible ſtore of productions—ſkins, furs, leather, honey, wax, gold, ivory, and abundance of ſuperfluities—Abyſſinia is extremely poor.

The women never have occaſion for the aid of a midwife: they bring forth with wonderful facility, and ſuckle their children without trouble or embarraſſment.

Abyſſinia is as fertile in the animal as in the vegetable kingdom, nor is it inferior in the mineral. It contains ſilver, but more gold, and a great deal of lead and iron. It is not ſaid that it is deſtitute of copper or tin. The ſalt dug from mines, extracted from ſaline ſprings, or collected in the form of a cruſt in the immenſe plains, though very common, is conſidered as a valuable article: every perſon carries a ſmall bit of it ſuſpended in a bag from the girdle. When two friends meet they produce their bits of ſalt, and give them to each other to lick: to neglect this ceremony would be thought a great incivility. It is ſaid that the heat, which renders the mouth parched, gave riſe to this whimſical cuſtom; but they might moiſten the mouth and render ſpeaking eaſier by each uſing his own ſalt, without licking that of another. This ſingular mode of ſalutation reminds us of a ſtill more ſingular manner of receiving viſits, related by a miſſionary who had been introduced at the court of a labo, or petty prince of the Galli. "He "was ſitting," ſays he, "on the ground in the "middle of his hut, having his courtiers around "him, each with a rod in his hand. As ſoon as "I entered, the whole company put themſelves

" in motion, and belaboured me with their rods: " I betook myſelf to flight; and when I had " reached the door, which was the eſtabliſhed " ſignal, the baſtinading ceaſed, and they re- " ceived me with compliments." When aſked why they uſe this ceremonial with friends, who are invited and expected, they reply, " that it is " to teach thoſe who viſit them that there is no " nation braver than theirs, and that thoſe who " accoſt them muſt humble themſelves."

The natural curioſities of Abyſſinia are enormous mountains, the rocks of which exhibit the appearance of walls, towers, and cities; others ſuch a ſmooth ſurface as renders them almoſt like a mirror; and ſome hollowed out by nature, or in which have been cut out apartments, churches, and palaces. At the bottom of theſe mountains there are ſteep precipices where the torrents roll down large ſtones with a moſt tremendous noiſe; and on their ſummits plains, the inacceſſible edges of which convert them into priſons, where the firſt children of their kings, whoſe competition for the throne was apprehended to be productive of miſchief, were formerly expoſed to languiſh in miſery. The beautiful rivers by which Abyſſinia is watered flow down from theſe mountains. The Nile is only a rivulet till it is joined by the Gemma, which is much larger and more rapid than itſelf. Thus augmented, it runs twelve leagues acroſs the lake Dambée,

without mingling its water with it; and it then becomes a large and majeſtic river, but it does not begin to acquire great reputation till it leaves its own country.

The government of the Abyſſinian monarchs has always been deſpotic, without their power being confined by written laws, or the authority of any body except that of the clergy, who have ſometimes oppoſed an effectual reſiſtance to the arbitrary will of the emperors: they call them *naguhs*, which ſignifies king of kings. Their ſeal has engraved on it a lion holding a croſs, with this legend: *The lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered.* They do not conceal themſelves from public view, like the eaſtern monarchs; but ſhew themſelves readily to their people, who never approach them but with ceremonies almoſt equivalent to adoration. They live more in tents than in palaces; but theſe tents are as magnificent as palaces, while their guard forms a real army, and their court a pompous and ſplendid retinue. It is augmented even by the women during military expeditions, to which they are a great incumbrance. The breaking up of this camp, and the removal of it from one place to another, is a real calamity, even in the time of peace, to thoſe countries through which the army paſſes, becauſe the roads muſt be repaired, and proviſions furniſhed and conveyed to it by the inhabitants, who are

ſucceſſively ruined by theſe paſſages throughout the whole empire. It is rather aſtoniſhing to ſee a camp divided into pariſhes; each of which has its own clergyman, with deacons and other eccleſiaſtics, who aſſiſt in divine ſervice, and the inſtruction of youth.

The crown is hereditary, but does not neceſſarily paſs to the eldeſt. The emperor chooſes for his ſucceſſor one of his children whom he wiſhes to favour; and this cuſtom has frequently given riſe to civil wars. To prevent theſe, a ſcheme was deviſed, in conſequence of which all thoſe princes who had a right to the throne were confined on the top of a mountain, almoſt inacceſſible, where they were cloſely guarded. This cuſtom was, however, aboliſhed on account of the indirect reproach of an infant. The emperor had a great fondneſs for this child, who was only eight years of age. One day, while he was ſporting with him, one of his courtiers approached, and obſerved to the king that the child was growing tall. On theſe words, the young prince looking tenderly at his father, ſaid: "Have I become big enough to be ſent to "the mountain!" The emperor, affected by this arch apoſtrophe, aboliſhed the cuſtom, and made his council ſwear that it ſhould never be re-eſtabliſhed.

The ceremony of the coronation is magnificent: a great part of it conſiſts of eccleſiaſtic

rites, ſuch as reading the liturgy and ſinging pſalms. The grand-almoner announces the monarch to the people, as the prince choſen to govern them. The king takes an oath that he will diſcharge his duty with juſtice and moderation. The metropolitan then places the crown on his head, puts on his royal robe, and gives him a croſs to hold in his hand for a ſceptre: this badge, however, is not peculiar to the emperor, as it is borne by every prieſt.

In imitation of Solomon, from whom they pretend to be deſcended, the Abyſſinian emperors maintain ſeveral wives; and, like him, of different religions. That they may have a ſtill greater reſemblance to him, they allow each to exerciſe her own religion; ſo that it is not uncommon to ſee around the palace, or royal tents, moſques and pagan temples cloſe to a church. At the emperor's marriages, which are frequent, the eccleſiaſtical gueſts or others are obliged, as is the caſe at thoſe of his ſubjects, to conſume every thing that has been ſerved up. They never retire from their repaſts, if they can, till they are ſcarcely able to ſtand; but the ceremony always commences with religious rites. Of all theſe wives, the prince chooſes one whom he cauſes to be proclaimed empreſs, and who enjoys great privileges. The naguhs, or Preſter John, receives ſacred orders, though not always the prieſthood: in general, he confines himſelf

to the deaconſhip, and he aſſumes theſe orders, as appears, that he may enjoy the privileges of the clergy; enter into the ſanctuary; preſent the croſs to be kiſſed; and, above all, have authority in that body of which he forms a part by his ordination. The children of the great, even when at the breaſt, are initiated into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Except in regard to the diſcipline of the church, to which the emperor ſtrictly conforms, he enjoys abſolute authority in every thing. One whimſical cuſtom is, that he muſt never be ſeen at his meals. All employments, both at court and in the army, are diſpoſed of by purchaſe. It may thence be judged how the troops are commanded, and in what manner juſtice is adminiſtered. The form of proceeding in courts of juſtice is wiſely eſtabliſhed. Neither counſellors nor attornies are employed. The parties are heard publicly, and the judge, having conſulted the aſſembly, paſſes ſentence; but he is not obliged to follow the general opinion. As he buys his office, the ſentence often ſavours of the neceſſity of paying; becauſe he incurs no puniſhment, and is expoſed to no ſhame by being unjuſt. The law of retaliation is eſtabliſhed in this country. A murderer is given up to the relations of the deceaſed: this cuſtom authorizes cruelty, and multiplies revenge. The Abyſſinians would be capable of carrying on war with

ſucceſs were they better diſciplined, and better commanded. They are not badly armed; but in their camps there is too much luxury, and too little exerciſe, ſo that when they encounter the enemy they are deſtitute of experience, and are eaſily thrown into confuſion: beſides, their army is always inferior in number to what would be required for the defence of a large empire, continually threatened by reſtleſs and warlike neighbours. This defect ariſes from the naguhs, through a fault of the government, being one of the pooreſt princes on the earth: not that his revenues, were they faithfully carried to the treaſury, would be inconſiderable; but they paſs through ſo many hands, and there are ſo many exceptions and privileges, that what remains to him amounts to very little.

The Abyſſinian annals contain an account of the queen of Saba's journey to Jeruſalem. Some circumſtances in it appear more like fable than truth; yet one is inclined to give credit to it at bottom. With regard to the converſion of queen Candace, by one of her eunuchs, who had been inſtructed by the apoſtle Philip, the account of it correſponds with that given in the goſpel of St. Luke. Chriſtianity, however, did not become the prevailing religion in Ethiopia, till towards the middle of the fourth century. Athanaſius, the great patriarch of Alexandria, ſent thither a biſhop, whoſe ſucceſſor is the *abuna*,

the only perſon in Abyſſinia who exerciſes the ſacerdotal functions. It is a cuſtom, obſerved with a rigour which has rendered it a law, that this *abuna* muſt never be an Abyſſinian; and this circumſtance affords the Alexandrians the ſure means of preſerving their ſupremacy. They, however, frequently abuſe it; for, in general, they ſend only ignorant men, who purchaſe that office by money. As they buy, they ſell alſo all the lucrative places in the church.

In the church of Abyſſinia there are degrees of all kinds: *depferas*, or chanters; *komos*, a kind of high-prieſts, &c. They marry and perform divine ſervice with a conſiderable degree of decency. Pſalms are ſung in the churches, and maſs is chanted, but always with a low voice. They have no carved images. Their tenets are the ſame as thoſe of the church of Alexandria, which acknowledges only one nature, and one will, in Jeſus Chriſt. They believe in the real preſence, uſe ſupreme unction for the ſick, and practiſe public confeſſion. Penitents are never abſolved without reproaches and blows, with a ſtick or whip upon the ſhoulders. They have monks of all kinds, extremely auſtere, temperate, and poor, collected in monaſteries, and diſperſed in caverns, or on the mountains: theſe monks live in a ſtate of celibacy. A certain perſon having one day aſked the emperor's ſecretary, who had been a monk, if they made vows, he

replied: "The votaries, proſtrated on the earth, "promiſe aloud to their ſuperior to obſerve "chaſtity; but they add, quite low, in the ſame "manner, as you obſerve it." Circumciſion among the Abyſſinians is merely a political inſtitution, as is alſo the prohibition to eat certain kinds of food. They admit the three firſt councils, with the books of the Old and New Teſtament; invoke the Virgin Mary, ſaints, and angels; pray for the dead, and adminiſter baptiſm. They do all theſe rather from habit than education. They have no ſchools or univerſities to inſtruct young men in uſeful knowledge and the principles of religion. Their language even has no terms expreſſive of theſe eſtabliſhments.

There is no regular chronology of the Abyſſinian emperors, or great naguhs, but for the laſt four hundred years. Some traditionary facts reſpecting the princes deſcended from Solomon, who reigned before, are ſtill preſerved: ſuch, for example, as the ſingularity of the three brothers, who, to avoid all diſpute, having agreed in an amicable manner to reign together, divided the day and the night into three parts, in order that they might each reign eight hours. This expedient, ſay the Abyſſinian annals, was attended with the beſt conſequences. About the beginning of the tenth century, the throne was uſurped by a woman, whoſe poſterity pre-

ſerved it for three hundred years. But reſpecting this dynaſty, we have only a few circumſtances, ranged in a very imperfect chronological order, which took place after the entrance of the Portugueſe into Abyſſinia, under the great Alphonſo Albuquerque.

This general, having undertaken to ſecure the trade of his nation on the Red Sea, caſt his eyes towards the emperor of Abyſſinia, as being able to afford it protection. He ſent thither an ambaſſador, who found means to procure a favourable reception, and to inſpire the empreſs Helen, the grand-mother and guardian of David the young king, with the deſire of forming an alliance with the king of Portugal, in order to obtain aſſiſtance from him againſt the mahometans who infeſted the frontiers of the empire. This able negotiator perſuaded the grand-mother and grand-ſon that the aid would be much more certain if they embraced the catholic religion. Helen ſhewed it the moſt diſtinguiſhed favour, and David followed her example. This conduct gave offence to the whole clergy, ſo that inteſtine broils were now added to the foreign war, which he imagined he ſhould be able to prevent. The Portugueſe, indeed, came to his aſſiſtance; but ſo few in number that they were not able to procure him any deciſive ſucceſs. After twenty years ſpent in military operations, during which the emperor had againſt him a great part of his David, 1505.

kingdom, he was obliged to retire, with a handful of faithful adherents, to a dry and inacceſſible rock. Blockaded by his enemies, abandoned and hated by his ſubjects, though brave and virtuous, he died a prey to grief and misfortune, in that horrid aſylum, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Claude, 1553 His ſon Claude, who ſucceeded him, purſued a courſe entirely different from that of his father. He endeavoured to regain the favour of the Abyſſinian clergy; but he found himſelf thwarted by the Portugueſe, who had acquired a great aſcendency at court, eſpecially with women devoted to catholiciſm. Claude, however, who managed the two religious parties with great policy, tolerated a catholic patriarch, but did not abandon the abuna; and in this manner he was able to make uſe of the Portugueſe, who were from time to time recruited by the viceroy of Goa. They were ſometimes ſufficiently ſtrong to demand from him favours, contrary to the neutrality he had reſolved to obſerve, and diſagreeable to the Abyſſinian clergy. On theſe occaſions, Claude always complied with their wiſhes; but he at length ſeparated the Portugueſe, under pretences which were never wanting, and diſtributed them in places at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that he had no occaſion to fear they would ever unite and dictate laws to him.

This ſovereign, who is characterized as valiant and wiſe, was killed in a battle againſt Novo, the general of king Adel, a mahometan prince, who reſided on the borders of the Red Sea. It is to be obſerved, that the political balance, which Claude held between the two religions, never inclined in favour of the catholics farther than protection; as he always openly profeſſed that of his anceſtors.

As he left no legitimate children he was ſuc- Minas, 1559
ceeded by his brother Minas. This prince did not behave with the ſame prudence towards the Portugueſe, or the jeſuit miſſionaries, who accompanied them: he declared himſelf openly againſt them; cauſed their churches to be ſhut up, and perſecuted their proſelytes. This conduct of Minas is aſcribed, by the Portugueſe authors, to his ferocious diſpoſition, and the education he had received among the Moors. Others ſay, that he became cruel towards the miſſionaries only becauſe he obſerved that they favoured two of his nephews, who had ſucceſſively revolted againſt him; and even excited the rebellion of theſe princes, who, by their illegitimate birth, were excluded from the throne. Minas was ſucceſsful, and triumphed over them. He did not, however, adopt the cruel reſolution of maſſacring the Portugueſe or the miſſionaries; nor was he ſo imprudent as to baniſh them: he only determined to confine them cloſely in his king-

dom, in ſuch a manner, that they could neither keep up any correſpondence with their friends abroad, nor ſend to demand aſſiſtance. He excluded them from all intercourſe with his troops; took back the property that had been given them; and ſuffered them to fall into a ſtate of poverty, which is always degrading. It is not known whether this prince, who was continually engaged in war during his ſhort reign, died in battle, or whether, after a defeat which he experienced from the Turks, he was obliged to conceal himſelf in the mountains, where he languiſhed out his life as a fugitive and a wanderer.

Malac, 1567 His ſon Malac inherited the crown notwithſtanding the misfortunes of his father. The reign of this prince was attended with a conſiderable ſhare of happineſs, though continually involved in war, either againſt his revolted ſubjects, or againſt the ancient enemies of his empire—the Galli and the Mahometans. He had neither time, nor, perhaps, inclination, to renew the perſecution of his father againſt the miſſionaries and their proſelytes. He ſuffered them to live in peace, without doing them hurt or ſhewing them favour. Malac had ſome intercourſe with the viceroy of Goa: he requeſted he would ſend him workmen to caſt cannon, to manufacture gunpowder, and to make ſwords and other weapons; but he never ſpoke of auxiliary troops.

His inconſtancy in regard to the choice of a ſucceſſor occaſioned a great deal of diſturbance after his death.

He had for ſome time caſt his eyes on Zadenghel, his brother's ſon, with an intention of naming him his ſucceſſor. Afterwards he conceived ſo much friendſhip for Jacob, one of his natural ſons, who was then ſcarcely paſt the period of infancy, that he cauſed him to be acknowledged by all the chiefs. When at the point of death he changed his ſentiments once more, and urged, as he ſaid to his nobles aſſembled around him, by love for his country and the intereſt he took in its preſervation, ratified the choice he had before made of his nephew, as being the fitteſt, under the exiſting circumſtances, to fill the throne, to which he was invited by his age, his valour, and his other qualities; but theſe very qualities induced a part of the principal men of the ſtate to confer the crown upon Jacob, then ſeven years of age, under whom they hoped to hold the reins of government themſelves. They, therefore, ſeized Zadenghel and confined him in in priſon; but another faction ſet him at liberty. He afterwards got Jacob into his hands; but, inſtead of treating him with inhumanity, and cauſing his noſe and ears to be cut off, to render him incapable of reigning, as adviſed, he was ſatisfied with baniſhing him to an agreeable part Zadenghel, 1596.

of the kingdom, under the inſpection of a governor, by whom he was narrowly watched.

Zadenghel ſhewed himſelf worthy of his uncle's choice. He put himſelf at the head of his army againſt the Galli, and a battle taking place his two wings were routed. The main body alſo being thrown into diſorder and beginning to fly, his generals came to him to requeſt he would retire before the enemy could have an opportunity of ſurrounding them; but the intrepid young man, who was only twenty-four years of age, inſtead of following their advice, diſmounted from his horſe with his ſword in one hand and his buckler, in the other, and addreſſed them as follows. "I am reſolved to die on the "ſpot where I now ſtand. You may eſcape "the ſword of the enemy; but you will never "eſcape the infamy of having abandoned an "emperor whom you all recently proclaimed." On theſe words the ſoldiers, who were on the point of flying like a flock of timid ſheep, threw themſelves on the Galli with the fury of lions, and gained a complete victory, which was followed by ſeveral others. After this advantage, which ſecured the eſteem of his ſubjects, he might have reigned in peace, had he not excited their hatred by a predilection for the catholic religion. The Abyſſinian clergy were incenſed at this conduct; and the faction which elected

Jacob was revived. Both parties flew to arms, and Zadenghel was defeated and killed before the expiration of the ſecond year of his reign.

It was not, however, the faction of Jacob that triumphed. On the death of Malac, when Zadenghel ſucceeded, another of his nephews, named Suſnée, had appeared as a competitor; but he was obliged to fly and to retire to a place of concealment. Having heard in his retreat of his brother's death, he again made his appearance, and took poſſeſſion of the throne. Jacob loſt his life in the diſpute, or while they were diſputing in his name; for he was ſtill too young to aſſert his right in perſon. Suſnée, when victorious, behaved with great moderation in regard to the partiſans of his nephew, and endeavoured to gain their ſupport by lenity and mildneſs. Suſnée, 1598

It is not known what reaſons could induce Suſnée to declare himſelf for the catholic religion, and to perſecute his own to ſuch a degree as to bring Abyſſinia to the brink of ruin, unleſs it was a deſire of being freed from the ſhackles of his clergy, become too powerful; but he ſometimes impoſed on himſelf chains which were no leſs galling. There was at that time in Abyſſinia a jeſuit named father le Pays, a man of great talents and addreſs, who took it into his head to ſubdue that empire for the pope. According to the ſyſtem of his brethren who had preceded him, he conceived that his miſſion ought to be

ſupported by troops. He inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of the emperor; and induced him, by flattering his wiſhes, to check the authority of the great who reſtrained his own, and with that view to ſend for a body of Portugueſe troops: at the ſame time he adviſed him to favour the Roman religion, and to grant it his decided protection and ſignal favours, in order to diminiſh inſenſibly the power of the Abyſſinian clergy. On the other hand, le Pays wrote to Portugal, and tranſmitted thither, by the way of Goa, inſtructions reſpecting the facility and advantage of rendering itſelf ſupreme ruler in that vaſt empire. He promiſed nothing leſs than one third of it to Portugal; and to the pope the addition of a rich and powerful church. A pretty conſiderable body of Portugueſe troops were therefore ſent out to him; and he received alſo from the court of Rome every authority he could wiſh, in regard to the changes to be made in the rules and doctrines of the church.

The firſt ſplendid conqueſt of father le Pays was that over Cella Chriſtos, the emperor's brother, who publicly abjured the Abyſſinian faith and embraced the catholic. Several circumſtances gave the emperor reaſon to believe that his ſubjects did not approve the changes which he intended. A new Jacob, who appeared with arms in his hand, ſupported himſelf by the favour of the clergy much longer than he could

have done by the assistance of his partisans alone. A reinforcement of missionaries, newly arrived, had experienced on their route some indirect insults, which indicated the malignant disposition of the natives towards them. The emperor finding, or believing, himself freed from the revolters, and being supported by his brother Cella Christos, resolved to strike an important blow. After some conferences, held for the sake of form, between the catholics and the Abyssinians, Susnée issued an edict by which he gave orders that no person, under pain of the severest punishment, should in future advance that there was only one nature in Jesus Christ.

In regard to this exertion of authority, advantage had been taken of the absence of the abuna. He therefore hastened to assert his dignity, and being seconded by Emana Christos, another of Susnée's brothers, hoisted the standard of defiance, and excommunicated the catholics. Emana Christos was joined by Eulos, the emperor's son-in-law, and Caflo, the steward of his household, who all three conspired against the life of the prince. Having failed in their attempt, they had recourse to arms. Eulos, too presumptuous, and persuaded that his character, as the emperor's son-in-law, would secure him from all violence, proceeded boldly through his father-in-law's army, and advanced towards his tent, attended only by seven persons, but he was

killed juſt as he was about to enter it with an intention far from pacific. On this cataſtrophe his party diſperſed. The albuna loſt his life on this occaſion alſo. Suſnée then iſſued an edict forbidding the practice of the Abyſſinian rites. Remonſtrances were made from all quarters, and inſurrections every-where took place. To the former the emperor oppoſed exhortations; to the latter arms, which under his command were victorious: at laſt he himſelf abjured the Abyſſinian religion, and embraced that of Rome.

A patriarch was expected at Liſbon to confirm the changes which had taken place, and to give a ſolid form to the infant church. Father le Pays had not, however, the ſatisfaction of beholding the ſucceſs of his labours, as he died before the arrival of the patriarch. The latter, who was a jeſuit, named Mendez, came accompanied by nineteen of his brethren, two of whom were conſecrated biſhops in order to ſupply his place in caſe of neceſſity. They were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect and affection. Nothing could be more pompous than the ceremony in which was conſummated, not only the union of the Abyſſinian church, but the ſubmiſſion of the emperor and all his court to the church of Rome. Baſilides his eldeſt ſon, his relations, the viceroys, and the grandees delegated for that purpoſe, being all

preſent, Suſnée fell upon his knees before the patriarch, and took the following oath:

" We the ſultan Suſnée, emperor of Ethio-
" pia, believe and acknowledge that St. Peter,
" the prince of the apoſtles, was eſtabliſhed by
" our Lord Jeſus Chriſt chief of the whole
" chriſtian church, and received from him the
" principality and ſovereignty of the whole
" world when he ſaid—Thou art Peter, and on
" this ſtone I will build my church, and will
" give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven:
" and when he ſaid to him on another occaſion—
" Feed my ſheep. We believe alſo that the
" pope of Rome has the ſame power and the
" ſame authority over the whole chriſtian
" church, and we promiſe and ſwear to our St.
" Peter, Urban VIII. and to his ſucceſſors, true
" and ſincere obedience, ſubjecting ourſelves
" and our empire at his feet. So help us God,
" and his holy evangeliſts, &c."

It is here ſeen that nothing was wanting to this formula, which was ſworn to by all preſent, after the emperor had done. Cella Chriſtos, before he took the oath, delivered a ſpeech, in which he called to mind the diſobedience of ſome perſons to the liturgic commands of the emperor; and holding his naked ſword in his hand, ſaid—" What is paſt cannot be recall-
" ed; but thoſe who do not perform their duty
" ſhall be judged by this ſword." In the ſame

aſſembly the emperor cauſed his ſon Baſilides to be acknowledged as his ſucceſſor, and made him take the oath of fidelity. Cella Chriſtos, always hurried on by his zeal, added to the formula the following words, which were much praiſed by the jeſuits: "I ſwear to obey him as "a faithful ſubject as long as he ſhall main- "tain, defend, and favour the holy catholic "faith, without which I ſhall be his firſt and "greateſt enemy." The emperor gave orders that all the ladies of the court ſhould take the ſame oath the day following, which was accordingly done.

He did not experience the ſame compliance among the clergy and the people, who could be induced neither by threats, puniſhment, nor the moſt flattering promiſes, to ſubmit to the different edicts which appeared to abrogate their faith and their rites. They were averſe to many uſages which he wiſhed to introduce: ſuch as kneeling down in the church; having fixed altars, crucifixes, and images in relief; auricular confeſſion; and other practices. Whilſt the frightened eccleſiaſtics were deſerting their monaſteries, and flying to the mountains, the emperor ordered a magnificent palace to be erected for the patriarch and his companions. He cauſed to be conſtructed alſo a ſuperb cathedral; but as it was built in the form of a croſs it diſpleaſed the Abyſſinians, accuſtomed to the cir-

cular form. Being kept as captives at court and in the environs, they avenged themſelves in the places which were more remote. In their turn they maltreated the catholics, and found governors who encouraged their hatred. One of the emperor's ſons-in-law, named Tecla, viceroy of the kingdom of Tigré, revolted; but being purſued by his father-in-law he was taken, and hung at the head of his army:—an infamous puniſhment, which the naguhs inflicted alſo on the ſiſter of the unfortunate prince. It was a remarkable thing for a woman to be hung in Ethiopia, and particularly a woman of that quality. This ſpectacle irritated all the female ſex, who ought not to be conſidered as indifferent in matters of religion.

The patriarch, on his part, employed the utmoſt rigour and the utmoſt zeal in order to eſtabliſh his principles. He rebaptized the Abyſſinians, reordained the prieſts, and cauſed the bodies of the ſchiſmatics who had been buried in the catholic churches to be diſinterred, under a pretence that they were defiled by them. He was involved, however, in a very ſerious quarrel with the emperor's daughter. This princeſs, a woman of gallantry, had two huſbands, and lived publicly with a lover whom ſhe pretended to be deſirous of marrying: for this purpoſe ſhe demanded a diſpenſation from the patriarch, who refuſed to ſhew the ſame compliance as the

ancient abuna. The princeſs incenſed, flattered her father, excited the other women to eſpouſe her cauſe, and attacked the old emperor with remonſtrances. He at length yielded to their repeated entreaties, and mitigated the ſeverity of his edicts againſt the Abyſſinian rites. The haughty patriarch took up the affair with warmth, but the king had not leiſure to attend to his repreſentation, as he was obliged to march againſt the rebels, who defeated him ſeveral times, and compelled him to ſeek ſafety by flight. He, however, collected a more numerous army, marched againſt them again, and became victorious in his turn.

After the combat, while traverſing the field of battle with a melancholy air, accompanied by the greater part of the officers of his court, they addreſſed him as follows: "Behold theſe "thouſands of ſlain. They are neither maho- "metans nor gentiles; they are your own vaſ- "ſals, our blood and relations: whether you "conquer or are conquered you plunge a ſword "into your own boſom. Thoſe people who "make war againſt you are conſcious of no "wrong: they take up arms only to defend "their ancient religion, which you are deſirous "of forcing them to renounce. What abun- "dance of blood has this unhappy change al- "ready cauſed to be ſhed! And how much "more will it occaſion to be waſted if you do

" not allow your ſubjects to follow the religion " handed down to them by their fathers! " Without it we ſhall never have reſt, and you " will have neither kingdom nor ſubjects." This pathetic exhortation, amidſt the dead and the dying, made a deep impreſſion on the mind of the prince. It was enforced likewiſe by the empreſs, by his other wives, and by Baſilides his ſon; and Suſnée, at length, ſuffered to be extorted from him an edict which allowed liberty of conſcience.

In a moment every thing was re-eſtabliſhed. The eccleſiaſtics began to officiate in their uſual manner, and adminiſtered the communion in both kinds; circumciſion was practiſed; and the people broke the chaplets and other inſtruments of devotion which they had received from the miſſionaries. In the churches they chanted ſongs of thankſgiving, one of which concluded with the following words: " Rejoice, ſing hal- " leluja; the ſheep of Ethiopia are delivered " from the wolves of the Weſt." Owing either to grief or diſeaſe, the conſequence of the fatigue to which he had been expoſed by war, inſurrection, and revolt, or rather to poiſon, as ſome have believed, Suſnée fell ſick. During the time of his illneſs, the patriarch Mendez uſed his utmoſt endeavours to induce him to revoke his edict in favour of toleration; but the dying prince plainly perceived, as is always the

caſe, that in this extremity all power would drop from his hands. "What can I do," ſaid he to Mendez, "I have no longer an empire "nor authority?" He died at the age of ſixty-one, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, which would have been happy and glorious, ſay ſome authors, had the jeſuits never entered his empire.

Baſilides, 1652.

As a tree bent by force, when freed from its conſtraint, ſuddenly bends itſelf in a contrary direction, thoſe who had been the foremoſt to ſubject themſelves to the catholic church were the moſt eager to ſeparate from it, and to efface, if poſſible, by demonſtrations of zeal, the traces of their apoſtacy. Never were the catholics more violently perſecuted. The patriarch Mendez endeavoured to ſupport himſelf in his tottering condition. He claimed from the new emperor a fulfilment of his oath, and the promiſes made to the church: he, however, received no other anſwer than that he ſhould deliver to an officer, ſent for the purpoſe, all the fire-arms he had in his palace, and diſmiſs his colleagues and all the catholic prieſts. Thoſe who concealed themſelves and remained after this order were puniſhed with death. The different attempts made to re-eſtabliſh this miſſion were entirely fruitleſs. The reſult of them was, that they cauſed the empire of Abyſſinia to be ſo cloſely ſhut againſt foreigners, that we are

entirely ignorant of the events which have taken place in it ſince that period. We know only that the hatred excited by the overbearing conduct of the jeſuits extends among the Abyſſinians to all Europeans of whatever nation or religion. They are all confounded under the general name of Franks, which they never pronounce without adding ſome imprecation or malediction.

Coasts of the Red Sea and of the Ocean.

The following reflexions were excited by inſpecting, on a map, the countries which lie adjacent to Abyſſinia. When geographers are embarraſſed with any vacancy, occaſioned by the errors of travellers, they fill it up with provinces of their own creation, which they erect into kingdoms. They raiſe mountains, plant foreſts, dig out beds for rivers, ſcatter huts or tents throughout the plains, and people cities with inhabitants. Next come the hiſtorians, who give to theſe nations manners, cuſtoms, and religion; and who then tell us that all theſe things are little known. This is nearly the caſe in regard to the coaſts of the Red Sea, along the borders of Abyſſinia, and beyond the Strait of Bab-el-mandel, comprehending the coaſts of the Ocean and Zanguebar.

Barnagaſh is a poor and ſmall kingdom, or the laſt province of Abyſſinia, the king or go-

vernor of which lives in a miſerable and wretched manner: we may, therefore, judge what the ſtate of the people muſt be. Balou or Bali is inhabited by mahometans, enemies to the Abyſſinians, who enrich themſelves by plunder. Dekin and Dancali, on the coaſt of Abek, are inhabited by a people who are the allies of the Abyſſinians, and as it were their factors. It was chiefly through their port, called Balyur, that the Europeans, invited by the naguhs, entered the kingdom. Ajan, near Cape Guardafui, on the Ocean, contains within its narrow but very long boundaries the kingdom of Adel. The inhabitants are white; but they become gradually browner towards the ſouth. There are among them a great many negroes, and in the back part of the country Bedouin Arabs, all mahometans, mortal enemies of the Abyſſinians, and intereſted in being ſo, becauſe they enrich themſelves by the plunder they take from them. They are no leſs hoſtile to the Europeans, againſt whom they carefully ſhut every entrance into Abyſſinia, through a dread that this haraſſed empire might call in foreigners to defend it from their incurſions. It is not, therefore, on account of its ſafety they are ſo vigilant, but that they may be better enabled to ſecure their prey.

The king of Adel is under the protection of the grand-ſeignior, but without being tributary.

His kingdom, which was formerly very extenſive, contains ſeveral cities. It is ſaid to have been founded by an Abyſſinian prince, of the royal blood, who eſcaped from a priſon in which he was confined. To maintain his power he became a mahometan. Being an apoſtate and perſecuted, he had thus two motives for entertaining a mortal hatred to his former countrymen; and his hatred tranſmitted to his deſcendants is the more formidable as it is advantageous to them. Mangadoxo borders upon Adel. The capital of this kingdom is ſituated on a bay, formed by a river which is ſubject to an annual inundation. It is a place of conſiderable trade. The inhabitants are mahometans; and being at the ſame time brave are a ſcourge to all their neighbours. They make uſe of poiſoned arrows. Ajan contains a republic called Brava. Seven brothers flying from the tyranny of a king of Arabia the Happy, to whom they were ſubjects, found on this point of land an aſylum, which they tranſmitted to their deſcendants. The Portugueſe, during their firſt expeditions, ravaged all this coaſt, and left behind them a terror which ſtill ſubſiſts.

Zanguebar, which follows, contains thirty-eight kingdoms, bordered by twenty-one iſlands. This country is ſaid to be covered with lakes and foreſts, which render the air unhealthful. The inhabitants are a ferocious, hardy, ignorant

people, who either go quite naked, or clothe themſelves in ſkins. The greater part of the Caffres are black. They are extremely ſuſpicious of ſtrangers. We have, therefore, but an imperfect knowledge of theſe thirty-eight kingdoms, the number and properties of which are not fully aſcertained. We have more authentic information reſpecting thoſe which follow.

Melinda.

Melinda, ſituated under the line, produces neither rice nor corn; but it has potatoes and fruits, various kinds of plants, paſtures, and flocks in abundance. The capital, known by the ſame name, enjoys a favourable ſituation; is well built; and carries on a conſiderable trade in gold, copper, and quickſilver, ivory, and drugs, which it gives in exchange for ſtuffs and corn. The inhabitants are of all colours, and of all religions. They uſe circumciſion, and go naked. The king's retinue is compoſed of women, who attend him with ſongs, and fill the air which he breathes with the odour of perfumes. All his actions, civil or domeſtic, and all reſolutions reſpecting peace or war, are determined by the opinion of the *labis*, or ſoothſayers, who foretel future events by the entrails of a deer, which they conſult in preſence of the monarch. To prevent their falling into too great miſtakes, they no doubt take care to have pre-

ſcribed to them what they ought to predict. No perſon is exempted from being called into a court of juſtice; not even the great lords, who may be accuſed with impunity. The king hears the cauſe ſeated on his throne, pronounces ſentence, and retires with the criminal to an adjoining apartment, where the latter is obliged to acknowledge his fault in the moſt humiliating attitude: the mildneſs or ſeverity of the puniſhment depends on the ſincerity of his confeſſion. His clothes are ſtripped off, he is ſtretched out on the ground, and the monarch gives him as many blows with his rod of juſtice as he thinks proper: he then riſes, puts on his clothes, returns the king thanks, and as ſoon as he has kiſſed his feet, every thing is forgotten. He returns to the hall with a ſerene air; the king diſmiſſes him in a friendly manner before his whole court; ſends him back to his government, recommending to him to adminiſter juſtice with fidelity; and cauſes him to be accompanied with the uſual marks of honour. Theſe princes, though formerly ill treated by the Portugueſe, live with them at preſent on very good terms. The chiefs of Lamo, Pemba, Zauzibar, Quirimba, Amfia, Aniſa, and many other countries, ſome of which are only five or ſix leagues in circumference, aſſume the title of kings. Some of them are tributary to Portugal.

Monbaza, Quiloa.

The capital of the kingdom of Monbaza is in an iſland. The houſes are built in the Italian manner, with terraces on which people may walk from the one end of the town to the other, The Portugueſe attacked this place on account of its being a convenient port, and took poſſeſſion of it, but were guilty of ſo many flagrant acts of oppreſſion, that they were expelled, or at leaſt loſt the citadel. They are now only tolerated; and live like the other nations who are invited hither by commerce. In this motly mixture of Moors and Caffres, whites and mulattoes, mahometans and pagans, it would be difficult to gueſs which were the primitive people. This kingdom was expoſed to the incurſions of the Imbis, a ſavage tribe in the interior part of Africa. They live merely by rapine; eat their priſoners, and even their relations, whom they knock on the head when they are ſick, in order that they may regale on their fleſh. Their favourite beverage is human blood. Skulls ſerve them as cups. When ready to engage in combat, they are preceded by herds of cattle followed by men bearing fire; the meaning of which is, that all the priſoners muſt expect to be roaſted and devoured. Nothing can be ſo terrible as the fate of thoſe who fall into the hands of theſe cannibals, and that of the country through

which they paſs. Every one flies and conceals himſelf on their approach. The mahometans have attempted to convert them, in order that they might thus be civilized, or to deſtroy them, but they have ſucceeded in neither: all they have been able to do is to drive them from their neighbourhood: but they ſtill ſometimes make their appearance. Theſe monſters worſhip as deities their horrid monarchs, who aſſume the title of emperors of the whole earth, and even brave heaven itſelf. When incommoded by the ſun or the rain, they bend their bows, and diſcharge their arrows, accompanied with impotent imprecations againſt the ſun and the firmament.

Quiloa, which ſtands in an iſland, is as well built as Monbaza. It is peopled with the ſame variety of nations; abounds with the ſame productions; and is enlivened by the ſame commerce. It has ſuffered more than Monbaza from the melancholy effects of the imperious ſway of the Portugueſe, who found there kings, whoſe hiſtory is preſerved, and whoſe ſucceſſion is known. Theſe princes diſdained to ſubmit to foreigners, who came with their artillery to ſpread terror and deſolation along their coaſts: they reſiſted their attacks, but were overpowered. Their capital, after being plundered, fell a prey to the flames, notwithſtanding the offers which the king made of becoming tributary to Portu-

gal, if his city was ſaved. Almeyda, the commander of the fleet, had it then in his poſſeſſion. The monarch required hoſtages before he would conſent to viſit him, in order to hold a conference. The haughty Portugueſe offered him his gauntlet. As this was refuſed, he wiſhed to add alſo his helmet. None of theſe pledges being thought ſufficient, the Portugueſe ſoldiers, who were ready waiting with torches in their hands, darted them among the houſes, on a ſignal given, and the city was conſumed. It was, however, rebuilt, and is now well peopled. Monbaza and Quiloa have been oftener under the ſame monarch than ſeparated.

Mozambique.

Mozambique is a very ſmall iſland, but a place of great utility to the Portugueſe for touching at in their voyages to India. They find here all kinds of refreſhments, which are procured from the continent, where they are produced in abundance: as for the iſland itſelf, it is entirely barren. It is ſaid alſo to be only ſix muſket-ſhots in length, and two in breadth: it is, therefore, almoſt covered by the important fortreſs which the Portugueſe have conſtructed on it, both to defend the port, and to keep in ſubjection the petty kings of the continent, from whom they receive their proviſions, and even water. In the

iſland there is but one ſmall ſpring, which does not afford a ſufficient ſupply of that neceſſary article. Gold and ſlaves are the principal objects of the trade with the coaſt, which is carried on by the Portugueſe only in an indirect manner. As the negroes have no confidence in them, the exchanges are made by means of Mooriſh factors. The things moſt valued by the almoſt ſavage tribes of the interior parts are bells, knives, ſciſſars, and all ſorts of toys. Inſtances are known of their giving fifteen cows for a razor. It is certain that among theſe negroes there is no humanity: fathers ſell their children, and children their fathers, mothers, and ſiſters. They carry on perpetual war with each other, and eat their priſoners: they do not, therefore, much dread ſlavery. A few bracelets, ſmall rings of gold or ivory put under the lower and above the upper lip, to make them project, and render them large, with a few red ſtreaks painted on the body, are the principal ornaments of the negroes of both ſexes.

The Coast of Sofala.

Sofala, the capital of which is alſo ſituated in an iſland, is ſtill ſubject to Portugal. It is of the ſame utility, and attended with the ſame advantages, as Mozambique; but for the trade with the continent it is of the utmoſt importance. On account of the large quantity of gold

which Sofala furniſhes, it is ſuppoſed to be the ancient Ophir of Solomon. When diſcovered by Anaga, the Portugueſe admiral, it was governed by an old blind mahometan king, named Juſef. The Portugueſe having aſked permiſſion to erect there a fort, which, as they ſaid, would be of great ſervice to that prince, he pretended to believe them; but when the building was pretty far advanced, Muſaph, his ſon-in-law, repreſented to him how dangerous it would be to ſuffer ſtrangers to fortify themſelves within his dominions. The blind prince, however, replied: "Would you have me attack theſe "ſtrangers at the moment of their arrival, when "they are in good health, and well provided "with every thing neceſſary? Suffer them to "remain at peace for ſome time; the heat and "the atmoſphere of our climate, to which they "are not accuſtomed, will deſtroy one half of "them, and render the other ſick; we may "then attack them with advantage, and ſhall "get poſſeſſion of the fort which they have built "for us." Muſaph's impatience would not ſuffer the father-in-law to follow out his plan to the end. He was compelled to attack the fort; but the Portugueſe, as he had foreſeen, though reduced to a ſmall number, being ſtill too vigorous, not only defended themſelves, but purſued Juſef to his palace, where he was put to death. Since that period, they have kept the

fort, which is ſtill in their poſſeſſion, and the kings pay them tribute. It is even believed that the laſt ſovereign was a Portugueſe: perhaps ſome hidalgo of a mixed breed, who did not diſdain to ſhade his brows with an African crown. In this kingdom there are ſome traces of police eſtabliſhments. The ſeverity of the laws againſt adultery is carried ſo far, that a man found ſitting on the ſame ſopha, or the ſame mat, with a married woman, is ſubjected to the puniſhment of death. The people have great reſpect for the memory of their relations, and preſerve their bones with every mark of veneration. All kinds of religion are prevalent among them; but the primitive inhabitants are negroes.

Monomotapa.

The vaſt empire of Monomotapa, which, in many reſpects, may be compared with that of Abyſſinia, is ſaid to be from ſeven to eight hundred leagues in circumference. The air, in general, is good, and the ſoil fertile. The inhabitants are expoſed in ſome places to intenſe heat, and in others to extreme cold; for while the plains are ſcorched by the ſun, the mountains are covered with ſnow. It is obſerved, with ſome degree of aſtoniſhment, that theſe people, though at a diſtance from the tropic, are real negroes; whereas in the diſtricts of Lybia and America, where the ſun is vertical, the inha-

bitants have neither a black colour, nor woolly hair. Young perſons of both ſexes go almoſt entirely naked, having no covering except what modeſty dictates: the reſt leave their bodies bare as far as the girdle. Polygamy is uſual among them. The firſt woman whom a huſband marries is always miſtreſs of his family, and her children inherit his property. It is not allowed, even at court, to wear ſtuffs of foreign manufacture, leſt they ſhould be attended with ſome ſecret charm. This political law has, in all appearance, been ſupported by ſuperſtition, in order that it might be more ſtrictly obſerved.

The emperor's retinue is ſplendid. When he appears in public, on days of ceremony, he wears a ſmall ſpade ſuſpended by his ſide, the emblem of agricultural induſtry; and has in each hand an arrow, one of which is the ſymbol of puniſhment, and the other of protection. The government is exceedingly mild. There are no taxes, and the emperor requires nothing from his ſubjects but a few days' labour. He even takes care to ſupply the labourers with proviſions, though he is not bound to do ſo; and hence it happens, that every one, inſtead of ſhunning, is eager to diſcharge his taſk. The children of the tributary princes or great officers of ſtate are educated at court, where they are inſpired with fidelity to the ſovereign, and ſerve as pledges for that of

their parents. Every year the monarch ſends to all the provinces an officer, on whoſe arrival the people every-where extinguiſh their fires; but they receive from his hands ſomething to rekindle them. A refuſal to conform to this uſage is conſidered as an act of rebellion. This ceremony, therefore, is like an oath of allegiance. Theſe monarchs are greatly beloved by their ſubjects, whoſe affection they take care to preſerve by frequent marks of benevolence. When the king drinks, ſneezes, or coughs, one of the grandees preſent calls out with a loud voice: "Pray for the health and proſperity "of the emperor." The ſame words are repeated from mouth to mouth; and this invitation is thus propagated even to the extremity of the empire.

The adminiſtration of juſtice is ſpeedy and ſevere: one mode is by a purgative draught, which is employed as the water of bitterneſs was among the Jews. Thoſe on whom it produces no effect are declared innocent. The capital is beautiful, and contains an empreſs and nine queens, each of whom has a diſtinct court. One of them is the protectreſs of the Portugueſe, and another of the Moors. All the reſt have each ſome ſuperintendence of the like kind. Harveſt is a period of feſtivity, and the emperor never fails to atten d it. When he is prevented by war or other buſineſs, the empreſs preſides in his

ſtead. Care is taken that the court may be always accompanied by a number of rope-dancers, muſicians, and buffoons, to amuſe the populace: the chiefs of theſe bands are men of importance. There are here regular armies, which are called out in turns. One province of the country is ſuppoſed to be inhabited by amazons. However this may be, it is certain that there are always in the armies bodies of women. Their arms are bows and arrows, javelins, ſabres, cutlaſſes, poniards, and light-battle-axes, exceedingly ſharp: theſe they manage with great dexterity; becauſe they are taught to uſe them from their infancy. The emperor prefers them to his other troops for guarding his perſon. He has alſo a pack of two hundred dogs, whom he conſiders as not the leaſt faithful of his protectors.

Among the dignitaries of his court, the chief are: the governor of the kingdom; the maſter of his houſehold, who has the ſingular privilege of naming the empreſs on the deceaſe of the reigning one, but in regard to this point he and the emperor underſtand each other; the captain of the muſicians; the chief of the ſoothſayers; the keeper of the pharmaceutic articles—the oil utenſils, and ingredients which the chief soothſayer employs;—and the porter. The two chiefs of the kitchen are generally princes of the blood, and the cooks are all people of quality. They

never ſerve after they are twenty years of age. It is ſuppoſed that before that period they have never known a woman: if they deceived in regard to this point, they would be expoſed to the ſevereſt puniſhment. The emperor is never ſeen while at his meals. It appears that the ancient religion was paganiſm, but without polytheiſm and idolatry; or rather a kind of theiſm, mixed with vague notions of Chriſtianity, and ſuperſtitions which, however, are not diſgraced by inhumanity. The foretelling of future events by the caſting of lots is puniſhed. They acknowledge a ſovereign being, whom they call the creator and governor of the world. They pay a great many honours to a virgin; and have temples and convents dedicated to her, in which they devote their daughters to celibacy, as among the catholics, the Greeks, and the Abyſſinians. It is believed that they have long had intercourſe with the laſtmentioned people; and it is ſaid that the two empires were once united, though they are at a great diſtance from each other. They invoke the dead, and pray for them. One of their emperors cauſed himſelf to be baptized by a jeſuit; but he abandoned the faith when informed that he muſt abſolutely renounce a plurality of women. The Portugueſe are in poſſeſſion of the gold mines, which are under the protection of the forts they have been permitted to conſtruct. Gold is found alſo among

the ſand at the ſurface of the earth. No country is more abundant in elephants. There are oſtriches in it as large as oxen; but theſe oxen, no doubt, muſt be of ſmall ſize.

The hiſtory of the laſt emperor with whom we are acquainted is as follows. A bloody war took place between the children of Famigar-Bachi, who at the age of forty-ſeven left ſixty-four ſons. They were all deſtroyed in the conteſt except three. Two of theſe agreed to reign each ſix months in turn. The firſt who occupied the throne diſpatched the ſecond, and the former was killed by one of his uncles named Nahi; the third made his eſcape to a diſtant country, where he purchaſed a ſmall eſtate, which he cultivated with his own hands, and where he lived in retirement. He married, and had a ſon named Alfondi. This prince, as he grew up, acquired the love and excited the admiration of all thoſe around him by his modeſty and the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition. In the courſe of time he ſignalized his courage and intrepidity in hunting elephants, lions, tigers, and other ferocious animals.

Having heard of a war kindled up in Monomotapa, between Nahi his grand uncle, of whoſe relationſhip he was ignorant, and a neighbouring king, he provided himſelf with arms and horſes, and, at the head of a choice body of troops, marched to offer his ſervices to the em-

peror. Alfondi ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by exploits, which attracted the attention of the whole army. He excited, above all, the notice of his grand-uncle, who gave him the command of a body of troops, with which he diſplayed his military talents ſo much, that Nahi thought he could not do better than to put him at the head of the army. In the courſe of ſix months the young general gained ſo many battles that he compelled the enemy to ſue for peace. In order to reward his ſervices, the emperor gave him the princeſs his daughter in marriage, without having the leaſt ſuſpicion of his real birth. Alfondi was equally ignorant of it himſelf. By a ſentiment extremely natural he invited his father to be a witneſs of his good fortune. The old monarch recognized in his ſon-in-law the nephew whoſe throne he occupied. He reſigned the ſceptre to him with pleaſure, and the new king transferred it to his ſon. He was crowned with his ſpouſe amidſt the acclamations of the people, whoſe eſteem he never ceaſed to merit by his juſtice and beneficence. It would not be difficult, with the help of a few embelliſhments, to convert this hiſtory into an intereſting romance.

Monœmugi.

Vaſt empires may be eaſily cut out in the deſerts which lie remote from the coaſts. Monœ-

mugi is one of thoſe kingdoms, which the imagination may extend as far as it chooſes, without being checked by any certain bounds, except in deſcending towards the ſea, where it is bordered by Monomotapa, and the other countries already deſcribed. We are indebted to the intermediate nations for every thing we know reſpecting it. The accounts given of this kingdom paſs from mouth to mouth among the curious Europeans, as their riches paſs from hand to hand; but neither of them are thus tranſmitted without alteration. We however know that it is an abſolute monarchy, and that it contains idolaters, mahometans, and caffres. By the laſt is underſtood infidels, and people deſtitute of religion. By caffres the Europeans underſtand alſo negroes, who form the greater part of the population of Monœmugi.

There are found here alſo, under the name of Giagas, the Imbis or the ſame ſavage people who haraſs Mombaza and Quiloa. It is not improbable, that they may be the ſame alſo as the Galli, who ſtrike ſo much terror into the Abyſſinians. It is the centre of Africa, which gives birth to theſe monſters, along with lions and tigers, who equally thirſt after blood. The emperor of Monœmugi, much to his ſhame, employs theſe cannibals againſt a republic of Amazons, who often make incurſions into the ſouthern frontiers of his ſtates. He keeps theſe

female warriors in check by means of the Giagas; not becauſe they dread their valour, but becauſe they fear their barbarity, and are apprehenſive of being roaſted alive by that diabolical race; ſo that when their troops engage the conteſt is dreadful, and no quarter is given on either ſide. This appears to be an epiſode in the romance of Alfondi.

Caffraria.

There is no country properly called Caffraria; but as this word ſignifies the country of infidels, the name of Caffraria may be juſtly given to thoſe vaſt regions which extend from the Hottentots to the equinoctial line, or beyond it, as the inhabitants are idolaters, abandoned to the ſtrangeſt and moſt inhuman ſuperſtitions, and to ſorcery, much more than any other nation in the world. The cruelty and ferocity of theſe ſavages, added to the exceſſive heat and bad air of the climate, deterred the miſſionaries from riſquing their lives and their labours by going thither. Few have penetrated very far into the country. Of thoſe who attempted to do ſo, ſome ſoon died by the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, the bad nouriſhment, and the dreadful fatigue to which they were expoſed; and the reſt were diſcouraged from remaining among theſe ſavages by the little ſucceſs they experienced. On their return they publiſhed ſuch

ſhocking accounts of their ſufferings, that no more miſſionaries were ſent out: and hence it happens that we are ſo little acquainted with the interior parts of this vaſt country.

HOTTENTOTS.

The extremity of Africa is inhabited by the Hottentots, an indigenous nation, who muſt not be confounded with the caffres. They are a different people, who have neither the ſame colour nor the ſame manners. They ſeem to have ſome notions of the deluge. We may ſuppoſe them to be the progeny of the ancient Troglodytes, deſcended from Abraham by his wife Kethura. Their language is a compound of the moſt extraordinary ſounds. It reſembles the clucking of turkey-cocks when they fight, mixed with the chattering of the magpie and the ſcreaming of the owl. The ear can diſtinguiſh in it nothing articulate. It is a kind of monſter among languages. The pronounciation depends upon certain impulſes of the tongue againſt the palate, and certain vibrations of ſuch a ſtrange nature, that it is impoſſible for any but thoſe who have been accuſtomed to them from their infancy to perform them. It is equally difficult for the Hottentots to learn our languages, which they never ſpeak well. Their country, which is mountainous, contains beautiful meadows in the defiles, and even on the ſummits,

watered by ſtreams of the pureſt water in the world. The ſea around them is well ſtored with fiſh. Theſe people ſwim in an upright poſture, as if walking, and make uſe of their arms as a balancing pole. This is a ſingularity peculiar to them which ought to be imitated.

The Hottentot nation, which is very conſiderable, conſiſts entirely of wandering tribes, as every paſtoral nation muſt be; but they wander only within a certain ſpace; that is to ſay, the Hottentots, after having exhauſted one diſtrict of their land, remove their huts to another, and return to the former, which they find in a little time covered with new graſs. By theſe means the different tribes are never confounded. They carry on war againſt each other. Their quarrels, when any ariſe, are determined by neighbours. They give mutual aſſiſtance to each other to repel a common enemy; and the Dutch have ſometimes experienced, to their great loſs, the force of ſuch leagues.

When a child is born, they waſh it with the juice of figs, which they ſuffer its body to imbibe in the ſun; and afterwards anoint it with greaſe, or greaſe mixed with butter. The father or mother gives it the name of ſome animal for which they have the greateſt fondneſs; and as ſoon as weaned, they teach it to ſmoke. The Hottentots are of a good ſtature; they are ſtraight and well made, and from five feet and a half to

ſix feet in height. The women are ſmaller: their complexion is of an olive colour. They have large heads, lively eyes, a flat noſe, thick lips, teeth white as ivory, hair like that of negroes and exceedingly black, and large broad feet. Thoſe of the women, however, are ſmall and delicate. Nature, as if ſhe wiſhed to ſpare their modeſty, has given them, according to the account of ſome travellers, a piece of hard ſkin, which hangs down from the lower part of the belly, and forms a kind of ſmall apron; a ſingularity which muſt be excluſively peculiar to the Hottentot race.

There is not a more indolent being in the world than a Hottentot: "To think," ſays he, "is to labour; and to labour, is the ſcourge of "life." Theſe people, therefore, ſpend the greater part of it in idleneſs, and the moſt aſtoniſhing ignorance. On certain occaſions, however, they can exert the utmoſt activity. In running they ſurpaſs the fleeteſt horſe; make uſe of the bow with great dexterity; and diſcharge ſtones as well as their aſſagays and *rackums*, or ſticks, with great force and preciſion. They are diſtinguiſhed for their affection to each other, their hoſpitality and their compaſſion towards the unfortunate and ſtrangers: but this natural benevolence—ſuch is the force of early prejudices—is belied by their barbarous conduct to decrepid old men, were they even their fathers,

When a man has attained to that ſtate, the ſon, or neareſt relation, aſſembles all the male inhabitants of the kraal or hamlet; repreſents to them the miſerable condition of the old man; and requires that he may be baniſhed from among them. This demand is never refuſed. They then place him upon a riding-ox, and, followed by a great part of the inhabitants, conduct him to a hut erected on purpoſe in ſome remote and ſolitary ſpot. They depoſit a few articles of proviſion within his reach, and then depart; thus leaving him to periſh of age and hunger, if he is not devoured by ſavage animals. When a woman brings forth twins, they always put to death one of them. Another cuſtom, no leſs whimſical, is, that a Hottentot, when he comes of age, and is received among the men, muſt beat his mother, to ſhew that he is no longer a child.

Their dreſs conſiſts of a mantle which they call *kroſs*, made of the ſkin of ſome animal well rubbed over with cows' dung, butter, or greaſe, either freſh or rancid, as to them both are equally agreeable. It may be ſaid, in general, that this ointment is their real covering; for on all ſolemn occaſions and days of ceremony, the application of theſe greaſy ſubſtances, with which they make ſtripes on their bodies and beſprinkle them with ſoot, chalk, or a red powder named *buchu*, forms their principal ornament. The men go

bare-headed; but the women wear a kind of caps. They conſider it highly elegant to ſuſpend blown bladders from their hair. The covering of their legs, which alſo diſtinguiſhes them from the men, conſiſts of the bowels of animals newly killed bound round their ancles in the form of half-boots. As a badge of heroiſm, they place, in great ceremony, around the neck of a man who has rendered himſelf famous by killing ſome ferocious beaſt, the bloody inteſtines of the animal or of any other, and leave them there till they become putrid, ſo that they may be ſmelt at a diſtance. One mark of their cleanlineſs is, to carry always in their hand the tail of a fox or wild cat, which ſerves them as a handkerchief. They live merely on fleſh; pork, fiſh without ſcales, harés, and rabbits, are forbidden to the men by their traditions. The two latter animals are allowed to the women; but both ſexes eat with great avidity old hides, from which they tear off the hair after they have ſoftened them in water. When broiled on the coals they form a delicious morſel. They do not even neglect their own vermin. They never make uſe of ſalt or ſpiceries. Their uſual drink is water; cows' milk for the men, and that of ſheep for the women. A man never eats with his wife, but on the day of his wedding. Both ſexes are paſſionately fond of brandy and tobacco.

Their hamlets are called *kraals*. They have

each an hereditary chief, as well as a general chief of the tribe who is called *konque*. The latter commands the army; directs all their negociations; presides in the council, and judges civil and criminal causes brought before him by appeal from the other kraals. Their huts are constructed of very thick mats, made of rushes, which are manufactured by the women. They are erected by the men, who make all the household utensils as well as their arms, when they choose to give themselves the trouble. They manage metals with dexterity; are good potters, and remarkably expert in the care of cattle and sheep. The quality of doctor to these valuable animals is a dignity in the kraal, in the same manner as that of midwife. The latter is chosen by the women. A third dignity, superior to the other two, is master of the religious ceremonies. The person invested with it solemnizes marriages and funerals, and performs the operation of depriving the males of one testicle. All the men, under pain of death, must be subjected to this cruel and singular law, between the age of eight and nine. They pretend that to the want of the left testicle they are indebted for their great agility in running; but it is supposed to be a religious ceremony, for which they can assign no reason.

It is difficult to describe the whimsical ceremonies which accompany their marriages, their

funerals, and the principal actions of their life—such as being received among the number of the men, or being declared a hero. In regard to the nuptial ceremony, the men squat down in a circle, and the women do the same at some distance. The priest, or *juri*, then enters the circle of the men, and besprinkles the future spouse with his urine; after which he proceeds to the bride and does the same thing, going backwards and forwards from the one to the other three times, if his reservoir holds out. While besprinkling them he repeats the following form of prayer: "May you long live happy "together! may you have a son before the end "of the year, and may that son be a comfort to "your old age! may he be a man of courage and "a great hunter!" At funerals the same ceremony is performed by two old men, one of whom besprinkles the male circle and the other the female. Before a child can be admitted to the rank of the men he must be examined and have the consent of the kraal. When approved, he is besprinkled, amidst a circle of the male sex, by an old man who addresses him in the following manner: "All thy words, thoughts, and actions, "must in future be worthy of a man who has "attained to the years of maturity. May thy "good fortune long attend thee! increase and "multiply. May thy beard soon appear! "Avoid the company of thy mother, under pain

" of being baniſhed from the ſociety of the " men." Before this period the young man has frequented the company only of the women, who teach all the cuſtoms, laws, ceremonies, practices, and traditions of the nation. They are the depoſitaries of them. In a word, to eſtabliſh the courage of a young man and raiſe him to the dignity of a worthy he muſt be beſprinkled alſo by ſome warrior decorated with the heroic ruff. All thoſe ſubjected to this ceremony not only receive the ſacred aſperſion with gravity and reſpect, but they haſten to rub it over their bodies, making furrows in the greaſe with their nails in order that the water may reach their ſkin, as if anxious that a drop of it might not be loſt.

The religion of the Hottentots is very little known. When aſked any queſtions on this ſubject they obſerve an obſtinate ſilence and return no anſwer. No people are more bigotted to their cuſtoms and traditions. It is impoſſible to convert one of them. We know that they believe in a ſupreme being whom they call the God of Gods. They offer to him neither preſents nor victims; but they make ſacrifices to the moon, which they honour as an inferior deity, the ſenſible image of an inviſible God. They adore, with profound veneration, a certain inſect or beetle, which is peculiar to their country. Its back and belly are green with red and white

ſpots; it has two wings, and its head is furniſhed with two horns. As ſoon as it is obſerved, the whole village cover their bodies with *buchu*, begin to dance and to ſing, and make a noiſe with the *gom-gom*, which is of two kinds, the large and ſmall. This inſtrument is compoſed of a calebaſh, and emits a hoarſe hollow ſound. Happy, thrice happy, is the fortunate mortal on whom the beneficent inſect alights! He becomes himſelf a kind of idol or an object of worſhip.

They believe in the immortality of the ſoul, and that after death it hovers around its former manſion. For this reaſon they take care to leave entire the hut of a deceaſed perſon, his furniture, and his arms. As ſoon as a man or a woman dies, they abandon the ſpot, and decamp. They offer up ſacrifices to a malignant deity, named *Tonquoa*, merely on chance, without knowing whether they have offended him; but as they believe that he treats as offences whatever he thinks proper, they endeavour to ſecure his favour. Before they enter the water to croſs a river, they always throw ſome of it over their body. In general, before they attempt any difficult or hazardous enterprize, they aſſume a grave, ſerious, and thoughtful air. Singing and dancing form part of all their ceremonies, except thoſe of marriage. Polygamy is allowed, but it is not common. They admit of divorce, and pu-

niſh adultery. They have ſome traditions, which they preſerve with great care. One of them is, that their firſt parents offended the ſupreme Being ſo much, that he curſed them and their poſterity, and hardened their hearts. Another is, that when God ſent them to their preſent country, they entered it by a window. The name of the man was Noh, that of the woman Hinguoh.

The Dutch purchaſed from the Hottentots all the land which they poſſeſs at the Cape. They paid the price with honeſty, and fulfilled with ſcrupulous exactneſs all the conditions by which the rights and limits of the two people were regulated. Some evil-minded perſons, however, involved them in hoſtilities; but both parties found ſo little advantage in war, that they ſoon entered into a treaty of peace. It ſeems to be eſtabliſhed on the baſis of confidence and mutual benefit; and, of courſe, muſt be laſting. The planters have extended a great way into the country. They are rivals to the natives, not only in their care of cattle, but in what concerns agriculture, which the Hottentots have at length learned not to neglect.

Benguela.

We have already entered the country of monſters, and ſhall now continue to advance. Un-

happy human race, to what exceſſes may it not abandon itſelf!

The kingdom of Benguela is one of the moſt unwholeſome in the world. The ſtagnant waters, expoſed to the action of the ſcorching ſun, ſoon become putrid, and the earth even poiſons its productions. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the whole coaſt is not curſed with the ſame evils; but the inhabitants of the countries expoſed to them are obliged to bring from other diſtricts whatever they eat or drink. Notwithſtanding this precaution, the ſmall number who eſcape the malignity of the climate have a reſemblance to ſpectres rather than to human beings. Their voice is ſo broken that one might be induced to believe that they voluntarily confine their breath between their teeth. Yet, as if the ſcourges of nature were not ſufficient, theſe negroes employ the little induſtry they poſſeſs to augment their evils. Beſides violence, there is no ſtratagem which they do not employ to ſurprize their countrymen, in order that they may ſell them as ſlaves. Their women, accomplices in this horrid robbery, ſeduce gallants by careſſes; ſuffer themſelves to be caught by their huſbands, and cauſe theſe victims of laſcivious paſſion to be transferred from their arms into chains. They are liars, aſſaſſins, and thieves, deſtitute of morality or religion, and have not a

ſingle virtue to make up for theſe vices; ſo that we might be tempted not to pity them on account of the ravages occaſioned in their country by the Giagas.

Theſe people, called alſo Jajas, if we may judge from their ferocity, are in all probability the ſame as the Imbis and the Galli. A traveller, who reſided ſeveral years among them, has made us acquainted with their cuſtoms. The title given to their chief is great Giaga. He has twenty thouſand men, under the command of twelve captains. He never undertakes any thing without conſulting the devil, whom they call *mokiſſo*. This ceremony continues a whole day: he is aſſiſted by fifty women and two ſorcerers, who make a variety of geſtures around him, and repeat certain incantations. They dye his forehead, temples, and belly, with powders, conſecrated by their magical words over a large fire; put into his hand his *caſingola*, or hatchet; and ſay to him: "Go, march "againſt the enemy; ſpare no one, for thy "*mokiſſo* will attend thee." His firſt exploit is to ſplit the head of a young boy, who is brought to him for that purpoſe. This boy is followed by four men, two of whom he butchers himſelf; the other two are put to death by his orders without the camp: a general entertainment then takes place; and repaſts are given at which human fleſh is not ſpar-

ed. They have no idols; but it is ſaid that they often adore their *mokiſſo*.

The dreſs of a great Giaga is as follows: he has long hair tied behind, and intermixed with ſhells; a girdle made of the eggs of the oſtrich, and a plain *pagne* of ſtuff, manufactured from the fibres of the palm-tree. His body, marked with various figures, is every day greaſed with human fat. He wears in his noſe and ears pendents of copper two inches in length. The Giagas, as well as the inhabitants of Benguela, ſet a greater value upon copper than on gold: ſome of their women have collars of that metal which weigh ſeventeen pounds. The guard of the grand Giaga is compoſed of women. When he drinks they throw themſelves on their knees, and ſing and clap their hands. Every day he gives an exhortation to his troops. If any of them turn their backs on the enemy they are condemned to death, and eat by their comrades. However laborious may have been their march, whenever they encamp they fortify it with abbatis of trees and dry hedges. A particular corps of very robuſt men is deſtined for this purpoſe. The huts are diſpoſed in regular order quite cloſe to each other; and they place at the door their bows, arrows, and darts, ſo that on the leaſt alarm every one can be completely armed in a moment.

The Giagas do not permit their wives to rear

their children:—they inter them as ſoon as they are born: but the motive for this ſtrange practice is not known. Is it for the purpoſe of extinguiſhing among them all natural affection, and that their women, who are as warlike as the men, may accuſtom themſelves not to be moved by ſentiments of pity? They recruit their numbers by young men whom they carry off in the courſe of their expeditions. They put around their necks a collar as the mark of their ſervitude, which they retain till they have brought in the head of an enemy. Nothing has ſo much influence on their minds as the hope of being delivered from the collar, that badge of ſlavery; and to attain to this honour theſe young men brave every danger with the moſt intrepid courage. When a man of diſtinction dies, the two wives for whom he had the greateſt affection are placed at his ſides after their arms have been broken, and in that manner are buried along with him. If they are not ſuffocated by the earth thrown into the grave they expire amidſt lingering torments.

Theſe barbarians make war only for the ſake of plunder; they never ſtop but to conſume their booty, and when it is exhauſted they recommence their operations: the worſt is, that what they cannot carry off they deſtroy, burn, or demoliſh, leaving nothing behind them but a deſert. Unleſs fatigued by their expeditions,

or tired of bloodſhed and ſlaughter, they ſhew no deſire of ſettling, as they have done in the more fertile plains of Benguela. It may be readily conceived that with ſuch gueſts the inhabitants of the country are in no very agreeable ſituation; they are, therefore, ſcarcely ever mentioned: we know only that they have ſome government, and that their conſtitution is monarchical.

Congo.

In following the coaſt we arrive at Congo. Europeans in this country might believe themſelves at home, becauſe they find here counties, marquiſates, and duchies. There however remains only a part—nearly a half—of this empire, from which provinces acknowledged at preſent as empires have been detached. The king takes the title of *mani*, which ſignifies lord. Thus *mani Congo* is the lord of Congo. Beſides the great loſſes this country has ſuffered in regard to the ſurrounding provinces, thoſe which remain, more towards the centre, have, under the protection of the Europeans, often given proofs of their independence.

Congo is one of the moſt fertile countries in the world. The graſs here is ſo high and thick that it affords ſhelter to the ferocious animals, and by theſe means becomes the ſource of great danger to the natives. The traveller never ad-

vances a ſtep without dreading to ſee ſtart up before him a lion, tiger, or ſome other ravenous animal, beſides the ſerpents and venomous inſects which conceal themſelves among the long graſs. The inhabitants know no other means of delivering themſelves from theſe peſts, than by ſetting fire to the graſs when it is dry. The animals, driven from their retreat by the flames, become furious, and throw themſelves on thoſe they meet, however numerous. Travellers, who obſerve the conflagration at a diſtance, have no other reſource than to aſcend a tree as faſt as poſſible, in which the negroes are exceedingly expert; but the Europeans, leſs accuſtomed to ſuch manœuvres, are obliged to carry with them ladders of ropes, which their negroes make faſt to the branches. There are two harveſts in the courſe of the year, and yet famines take place, through the indolence and inexperience of theſe people, who can never be perſuaded to ſtore up a ſufficiency to ſupply them from one ſeaſon to another. They have, however, grain and nouriſhing roots, the preſervation of which would be attended with very little labour or difficulty; but being placed in a country which forms a kind of terreſtrial paradiſe, on account of the beauty of its flowers, the ſavour of its fruits, the abundance of its fiſh, and the multiplication of the cattle with which it abounds, they never think of any thing but enjoyment.

As they are accuſtomed to the heat of their burning climate, it neither chagrins nor torments them.

Congo is exceedingly populous notwithſtanding the multitude of ſlaves drawn from it every year, but the women are remarkably prolific. It is pretended that without this perpetual emigration, without wars, and the mortality occaſioned by epidemical diſeaſes, and without famines, it would be overſtocked with inhabitants, who would devour each other. We muſt not expect to find here an extenſive trade; the whole amounts only to a little barter among the negroes for the moſt urgent neceſſaries of life. If they have mines of gold, ſilver, copper, and other metals, as they boaſt, they never employ them. Their money conſiſts of ſmall ſhells named *zembis*, which are fiſhed up in the Bamba: they are current, not only in Congo, but in the neighbouring kingdoms.

It is curious to hear the reaſoning of a Congo negro, when he ſits on his mat ſmoking his pipe, covered with a few wretched rags, and ſcorched by the perpendicular rays of the ſun: "Other countries," ſays he, "are the work-"manſhip of angels, mine is that of God him-"ſelf; my king is the richeſt, wiſeſt, and "moſt powerful of monarchs; my countrymen "are the nobleſt and happieſt people in the "univerſe. Why talk to me of the mag-

" nificence of the courts of your monarchs in " Europe and Aſia; of their immenſe revenues, " the grandeur of their palaces, the opulence " and felicity of their ſubjects, and of the great " progreſs they have made in the arts, ſciences, " and manufactures? All this, even if true, is " far below the dignity and the ſplendour of " my ſovereign, and his kingdom. There can " be only one Congo in the world; all the reſt " was created for the glory of our monarch, and " the happineſs of his ſubjects.

" The ſea pays us a continual tribute of " zembis; while other nations are obliged to " dig the mountains, and to break the rocks, in " order to extract gold and ſilver, which are " only the excrements of the earth. What " but the poverty and the ſterility of your " country can induce you to expoſe yourſelves " to ſo many labours and dangers to come and " traffic with us? What need have I of your " ſtuffs, and all the produce of your manufac- " tures? They coſt you great labour to make " them, while I am enjoying repoſe. Your " ſhoes I can do without; for my feet, rendered " callous, are neither burnt by the ſand nor " wounded by the ſtones. Of what uſe to me " are your hats? My head is defended by my " hair, which is impervious to the rays of the " ſun. Your mattreſſes, your carpets, and other " articles of the like kind, would ſerve only to

" expoſe me to more heat. I ſleep in tranquillity " on the bare ground; and when the friendly ze- " phyrs ariſe, the intervention of a wall, or of a " piece of cloth extended to ſerve as a tent, " does not rob me of that gift of nature. If " drenched by the rain, I only ſhake myſelf and " am ſoon dry. My wives procure me ſlaves, " and with thoſe whom I ſell I purchaſe every " thing not ſupplied by my ſmall field, which is " cultivated by my women. I buy, in the like " manner, my domeſtic utenſils, when I am not " acquainted with the art of making them. " While I indulge in enjoyment, the price of " my children furniſhes me with pipes, tobacco, " and brandy, which rejoice my heart; and with " other women, who bring me other ſlaves, by " whom I am enriched."

As the capuchins one day entered their church at St. Salvador, which is the capital of the country, they ſaw a negro ſending forth loud cries, ſtamping on the ground with his feet, and twiſting his arms like a perſon in deſpair. On their running up to him to enquire the cauſe of his diſtreſs, he replied; " Alas! I had bro- " thers, a ſiſter, a father, a mother, a wife, and " children. Unhappy wretch! I have ſold them " all, and I have none left of my family by " whom I can make money." The good fathers, in great ſurprize, began to remonſtrate with him, and to ſhew how much he violated

reaſon and nature by this exceſs of inhumanity: upon which he replied: "I have done nothing "but what has been practiſed at all times in "this country.—What crime have I committed "in ſelling them? I have only prevented them "from ſerving me in the ſame manner." Though chriſtianity, which was eſtabliſhed here about the end of the fifteenth century, has leſſened this practice, it is far from being entirely aboliſhed. The Europeans quiet their conſcience, in regard to this infamous traffic, by ſaying, that if they did not purchaſe them they would be ſold to others: but theſe others would not carry them from their native land to ſubject them in America to a kind of life contrary to their early habits; and were they left in their own country, even though in a ſtate of ſlavery, their condition would be preferable on account of the general indolence of the people. No purchaſe, therefore, of this kind can be made without remorſe, except that of the priſoners of war taken by the Jagas or other monſters, becauſe by theſe means they are reſcued from a cruel death: but the greater number are not of this ſort. Beſides, there is a highly criminal inhumanity in thoſe planters, who reſcue theſe unhappy wretches from the butchering Jagas only to ſubject them to a continuance and exceſs of labour which renders their life worſe than death.

Before the introduction of chriſtianity, the religion of Congo was a monſtrous compound of idolatry and ſuperſtition, with the moſt abſurd ceremonies, and the moſt deteſtable cuſtoms. They acknowledged a ſupreme being who created their country, but who abandons all things in this lower world to the government of a great number of inferior deities. Some of theſe preſide over the air, and others over fire, the ſea, the earth, drought, rain, heat, and cold, men and women, barrenneſs, famine; in a word, over all bleſſings and evils. The *gangas*, or prieſts, ſpecify to their proſelytes the particular domains of each of theſe gods, in order to direct them in their oblations; but they do not aſſign to them any eſtabliſhed form. By one they are repreſented as an animal, by another as a tree, a ſtone, or ſome groteſque idol, rudely carved. Their worſhip conſiſts in genuflexions, fumigations, and offerings, which are of advantage to the gangas. They are ſuppoſed to have the power of producing fertility, baniſhing tempeſts, and healing the ſick. They are ſaid to know alſo what occaſions a perſon's death: for theſe people imagine that no one dies naturally, but that all men leave the world through the malice of ſome enemy. No doubt is entertained that the gangas can point out a ſorcerer, and this affords them an excellent opportunity of being revenged of their enemies, and of freeing the

earth from unbelievers. This abominable notion is the ſource of eternal diſcord and murder.

The chief of the gangas, called *chalombe*, enjoys ſo great authority, that the governor of the province where he reſides, in order that he may be received and live there in tranquillity, is obliged to purchaſe his friendſhip and protection. No one is allowed to enter his houſe without permiſſion, leſt ſome imprudent ſtranger ſhould defile the ſacred fire which he preſerves in it. When he removes to a diſtance, to remain any time, it is a capital offence for the negroes to have intercourſe with their wives or concubines till his return. He enjoys in abundance every advantage, convenience, and pleaſure of life; but, like Damocles, he always beholds the ſword ſuſpended over his head. He muſt not die a natural death; ſuch a misfortune would occaſion the ruin of the whole world: to prevent this fatal cataſtrophe, when he falls ſick, or becomes too old, he is knocked on the head, or ſtrangled.

The greater part of the chriſtians of Congo have nothing of their religion but the name. They ſeem to be entirely unacquainted with the doctrines and fundamental principles of the goſpel. Others reſpect them ſo little that, beſides their lawful wives, they do not heſitate to keep a number of concubines. Many of them, who make a ſhow of carrying chaplets and

croſſes, have, concealed under their clothes, taliſmans and amulets. Theſe irregularities, ſo contrary to chriſtianity, ariſe in a great meaſure from the depravation of the Portugueſe, who by their manners diſgrace the religion they profeſs, and ſet the worſt examples before the negroes, who are too much diſpoſed to imitate them. They are owing alſo to the want of inſtruction. The few prieſts who go from Portugal are not ſufficient to teach the natives; and thoſe of the country are too ignorant. There is only one biſhop in the whole kingdom. The churches are badly conſtructed, have very few ornaments, and the ceremonies are rarely accompanied with that pomp and ſplendour which render them ſo venerable in the catholic temples. Chriſtianity, in this country, is therefore of a diſfigured and degraded kind, the external part of which is not ſufficiently ſtriking to ſupplant in the mind deep-rooted ſuperſtitions.

All the lands of Congo belong to the king. He derives from them a tribute which he augments as they paſs from one hand to another; but this practice is the ruin of agriculture. The zimbis and fines, together with the preſents received from governors, who extort large ſums from the people, form the whole of his revenue. That of the lands is received by the dukes, who tranſmit it to court. Their diſhoneſty or open refuſal to give up what they have once got into

their hands, often occaſions war. No perſon is elected king except a prince of the royal family; but it is of no importance whether he be of the neareſt or the moſt diſtant branch. The choice generally falls upon him who has taken the precaution to bring moſt troops to the ſpot where the electors aſſemble, or to ſecure the election beforehand by preſents. As ſoon as they have agreed, they convoke all the grandees of the kingdom in a plain near the capital. The aſſembly then repair to the cathedral, where there are two arm-chairs, one for the biſhop, and the other for the chief of the electors. The latter is ſurrounded by the candidates, who are yet ignorant on whom the choice will fall, and wait with impatience to hear his name proclaimed.

The chief of the electors, however, is in no great haſte; but makes a long ſpeech on the duties of royalty, which he at length concludes by declaring the name of the ſucceſsful canditate. He then deſcends from his ſeat, takes the elected ſovereign by the hand and preſents him to the biſhop, before whom he falls down on his knees. The prelate harangues in his turn; exhorts him above all to be a zealous defender of the catholic church; makes him take an oath to that effect; conducts him to the throne, and places the crown on his head. The air then reſounds with the acclamations of the people and the ſound of muſical inſtruments. Some days after, the mo-

narch performs two important ceremonies, the firſt of which conſiſts in his giving a ſolemn benediction to all the people, and the ſecond in inveſting the grandees with the principal dignities and fiefs of his empire.

For the benediction, a throne is erected in the moſt elevated part of a large ſquare, from which the prince can ſee every thing, and be ſeen himſelf by all the ſpectators. If there be any one among the miniſters or nobility who has incurred his diſpleaſure, he is driven from the circle as unworthy of his benediction: this is a convenient method to get rid of thoſe who have offended him, as there is no room for explanation or reſiſtance. The people fall with fury on the diſgraced object of the monarch's reſentment, and drag him about with ſo much violence, and uſe him ſo ill, that he ſeldom eſcapes deſtruction. When the aſſembly is compoſed only of faithful ſubjects, the king extends his hands, and wiſhes them every kind of happineſs: the people then teſtify their joy and gratitude by loud ſhouts and the clapping of hands. The diſtribution of the fiefs is made with the ſame pomp. Should thoſe who are diſappointed in their hopes of receiving the dignities they wiſh for venture to ſhew the leaſt ſigns of diſcontent, they would not be better treated by the aſſembly than thoſe who not being in favour are ſo imprudent as to make their appearance during this ſolemnity.

On theſe occaſions, as well as on all others, the kings of Congo appear with the moſt ſplendid retinue. One ſingularity which renders the court numerous is, that as few perſons, even among the great, can read or write, they are obliged, if the orders iſſued by the ſovereign are in the leaſt complicated, to receive them in perſon: thus there is always a crowd: and from the inclinations of the body, genuflexions, and other proteſtations of ſubmiſſion, uſed in the country, one might be induced to take them for a band of ſlaves.

The queen, who has the title of *manibombaba*, is the ſovereign's only lawful wife. Being miſtreſs of all the other women, ſhe has always around her a great many young females, who are not more rigid in their morals than their miſtreſs. The king always finds a variety among them ſufficient to gratify his taſte. He alſo keeps concubines publicly, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his confeſſor and of the miſſionaries.

The deſcription given of his troops during the general review, which takes place every year, in the month of July, is ſingularly curious. It is attended by all the princes and nobility of his court; and every ſoldier is ambitious of appearing on that occaſion to the beſt advantage. The reader may judge from what follows how far this is the caſe. Some are armed with bows and arrows of different ſizes; others have large ſwords,

daggers, and cutlaſſes; ſome have no other arms or clothes than long targets; ſome are covered from the girdle to the knees with the ſkins of divers animals, and others have their face and bodies painted with different figures. The more monſtrous their appearance, the more warlike they imagine themſelves to be. Thoſe who are not rich enough to procure a large ſword of ſteel get one of hard wood. Their colours conſiſt, in general, of dirty tattered rags. Their arms, formed of braſs and ſteel, are half eat away with ruſt, and thoſe of wood are badly made and badly painted. To complete the picture, invalids, both old and young, as well as the blind and lame, being obliged to be preſent, ſome are ſeen without legs and arms, or maimed and mutilated a thouſand different ways. All have their heads ornamented with plumes of various colours, each according to his own peculiar taſte. Beſides arms, they generally carry with them ſome utenſil which indicates their trade.

The nobility paſs along the ranks to exhort theſe brave troops to perform their duty on the day of battle; and to combat valiantly under the ſtandards of their mighty monarch: "Where is "there one equal to him under the heavens?" cries one troop: "Who can be compared to him?" exclaims another: "May he live for ever!" ſays a third: and all joining, as it were, in full chorus, pour forth the following prayer: "May

" his throne be exalted above the ſun and the " ſtars! may his enemies be confounded, and " trod under foot like the duſt!" Theſe clamours are combined with the claſhing of arms, the ſound of muſical inſtruments; and the whole ſcene concludes with a ſham-fight and a grand entertainment. When it is neceſſary to attack the enemy, drafts are no doubt made from theſe troops; but however good the choice, the army of the king of Congo is far from being formidable, as they obſerve no order in their march, nor diſcipline in camp. The ſoldiers charge with fury; but when once engaged, they no longer liſten to command; and one fugitive hurries on the whole army. The ſame inſubordination prevails when they are victors; and when they plunder, it is impoſſible to drag them away from the booty.

Before the introduction of chriſtianity, the king's favourite concubines, at leaſt to the number of twelve, were interred along with him; but they all ſolicited for that honour, and fought with each other to obtain it. This cuſtom is aboliſhed; but that of mournful lamentations, during eight days, at the funerals of the great, and the practice at anniverſaries of loading the tables with proviſions, and getting intoxicated, are ſtill retained. Then follow the ceremonies of the church, which are performed with a pomp proportioned to the dignity of the perſon.

The royal vault is ornamented with a ſuit of black hangings, which are renewed every year, notwithſtanding the bad odour that exhales, for ſome time after, from the body depoſited in the middle of it in a beautiful coffin.

The precautions employed in the adminiſtration of juſtice diſplay prudence and wiſdom; but an incorruptible negro is next to a miracle. A creditor may make a ſlave of his debtor. Three crimes are accounted capital: murder, rebellion, and ſorcery; the puniſhment for the laſt is burning. Picking of pockets and ſtealing privately are crimes worthy of puniſhment; but to rob boldly, or to take any thing by force, is a noble action, conſidered as more heroic in proportion to the largeneſs of the booty.

The inhabitants of Congo poſſeſs none of thoſe arts of induſtry by which labour is alleviated in other countries. Every thing among them is performed with the moſt painful toil. Labour ſupplies the place of art and ingenuity. They do not weave, but paſs their threads through each other one by one. A ſtone or a piece of hard wood is their anvil, which they hold between their feet: they forge the iron with a ſhapeleſs mallet, but can neither file nor poliſh it. They are equally clumſy in working with clay or wood; but in whatever relates to their own convéniency they excel. A negro muſt be very poor if he has not two negroes to

carry him ſtretched out at full length in a palanquin. He who is obliged to walk on foot never burthens himſelf with any thing, for the wife carries the bag which contains their proviſions. It hangs at her back, ſuſpended by a thong which paſſes round her forehead. Beſides this load ſhe has ſometimes in her arms a child which ſhe ſuckles, and drags another along by the hand. The huſband, in the mean time, gravely ſmokes his pipe cloſe by her ſide, and never offers to aſſiſt her. This painful taſk is often renewed, becauſe the negroes are fond of changing their reſidence, as it is ſo eaſy for them to carry every thing along with them. They ought, however, to be deterred from purſuing this wandering kind of life, by the difficulty and danger of travelling in a country infeſted by ferocious animals, deſtitute of bridges, and without open roads, except from one town to another; through foreſts obſtructed by underwood, and amidſt graſs that riſes above their heads. But none of theſe obſtacles are capable of curing their mania for travelling.

Among the lower claſſes, when a girl is thought to be of an age fit for a huſband, her parents make her retire for a month to a particular tent, where ſhe receives the addreſſes of different ſuitors and the preſents they bring her. At the end of that period ſhe gives her hand to the perſon who is moſt agreeable to her taſte. Among the great there are few marriages which have

not been preceded by a noviciate or trial. It is believed that a couple, before they enter into an engagement for their whole lives, ought to be intimately acquainted with each other; they agree therefore to take a trial of each other for two or three years. When the conditions are accepted by the parents and the girl, ſhe removes with as much privacy as poſſible to the houſe of her future huſband, and thus commences her noviciate. When the term agreed on arrives, it is generally the woman who ſolicits for a ſolemnization of the marriage. As to the laſt ceremony the huſband is very indifferent, becauſe he is about to impoſe on himſelf a ſort of reſtraint; and in regard to children he cares very little whether they be baſtards or legitimate: but he is often induced to ſubmit through a deſire of getting poſſeſſion of the dowery. Sometimes the ceremony is preceded by ruptures and divorces, during which the woman takes care to provide herſelf with a protector; but this gives the huſband no offence, and he is not prevented by theſe irregularities from making her his lawful wife. The marriage is celebrated before a prieſt, when one can be found, for the people here ſpoken of are catholics. On theſe occaſions nothing is ſpared in order to treat the gueſts. The poor, rather than be deficient in this reſpect, would ſell one or two of their children to purchaſe a calf or an ox, together with port wine and brandy: the

repaſt continues as long as there is any thing to eat, and the whole is accompanied with ſinging and dancing until the gueſts fall aſleep on the ſpot.

Their noiſy ſongs, intermixed with cries and ſhouts, frighten an European; and the negroes laugh at ours. They have both ſtring and wind inſtruments, but even when played in the moſt maſterly manner they form a diſmal and melancholy concert. The more immodeſt their dances are, the more they conſider them agreeable. Both ſexes are ſometimes ſo much heated by them, that they become ſeized with a kind of phrenzy which makes them forget the rules of decency, and in this the ſpectators participate. The immodeſt and licentious confuſion which then takes place exceeds that of the moſt indecent bacchanalians. To theſe exceſſes, which are frequent, is aſcribed a great part of their diſeaſes. Beſides keeping their pores ſhut by the greaſe with which they almoſt always anoint themſelves, they contract them alſo by means of the cold water into which they plunge, when quite diſguſting with ſweat produced by theſe violent movements. Though the diſeaſes thence reſulting are of a very common kind, their phyſicians are unacquainted with the art of curing them: the greater part of their patients die. The ſmall-pox alſo occaſions great ravages; and the other kind is a ſcourge no leſs common and terrible. They do not ſay that theſe diſeaſes were introduced among them by the Europeans: with

regard to the latter they muſt uſe frequent bleeding, until, as is ſaid, the whole maſs of their blood be changed. The rains in this hot and moiſt climate are almoſt all mortal. An opinion generally prevails that it is doing a ſervice to a man in the agonies of death to aſſiſt him to die ſpeedily; the leaſt cruel are thoſe who haſten death by ſtunning the patient with cries and ſhouts, or ſtiffling him with careſſes. It is related of the inhabitants of the province of Matamba, that when any of their relations are at the point of death they lay hold of them by the legs or arms, raiſe them in the air as high as they can, and then ſuffer them to fall to the ground. After looking at them ſome time when dead or expiring, they throw themſelves on the body, kiſs it, and preſs it againſt their breaſt with ſighs, and other marks of ſorrow, which might be capable of exciting the pity of thoſe who are not acquainted with the indifference and want of affection that prevail in all their families.

John, 1484. Alphonſo, 1502.

The hiſtory of Congo, before the arrival of the Portugueſe, is only a confuſed maſs of vague traditions. As the natives were unacquainted with the art of writing, they have preſerved few facts, and ſtill fewer dates. They ſpeak of a monarch named Luqueni, who united a number of ſmall ſtates, and formed of them the vaſt empire of Congo. This empire was in a ſtate of great decline on the arrival of the Portugueſe, in 1484,

under the command of Souſa. The facility with which they induced the reigning prince to embrace chriſtianity is wonderful. It was the work of a few letters of exhortation from the king of Portugal, and of a voyage of an uncle of the king of Congo who was inſtructed and converted at Liſbon. On his return he cathechized his nephew with the aſſiſtance of a few miſſionaries who had been ſent to accompany him. The Mani Congo cauſed himſelf to be baptized, and aſſumed the name of John, while his queen took that of Eleonora, in honour of the king and queen of Portugal. Their example was followed by their whole court; and, as is generally the caſe, the people imitated the court. This prince, however, wavered in his religion; but Al Souſa his ſon and ſucceſſor adhered to it with firmneſs. He may be ſtyled the apoſtle of Congo, on account of the zeal which he ſhewed in ſending for miſſionaries to inſtruct his ſubjects.

Don Pedro, 1521. Don Francis, 1530. Don Diego, 1532. Don Henry, 1540. Don Alvarez I. 1542. Don Alvarez II.

He ſent his ſon to Liſbon in order that he might give him a chriſtian education. This prince when he mounted the throne aſſumed the name of Don Pedro, and imitated the zeal and piety of his father. His ſon, Don Francis, did not degenerate; but he enjoyed the crown only two years, and at his death left it to his couſin Don Diego. As the latter died without children, the Portugueſe, now become powerful in the kingdom, arrogated to themſelves the right of giving it a ſovereign. The princes of the blood,

the governors of the provinces, and the nobility, united to oppoſe this pretenſion. They attacked the Portugueſe, and having defeated them, raiſed to the throne Don Henry, who is ſuppoſed to have been a natural ſon of Don Diego. On aſſuming the crown he found himſelf involved in a war, and having loſt a battle and his life at the ſame time, Don Alvarez I. his ſon, was placed on the throne in his ſtead. This prince thought it neceſſary to juſtify, at Liſbon, the violence offered to the Portugueſe when they attempted to oppoſe the election of his father. His exculpation was heard; but it gave riſe to a coolneſs between the two nations, which proved injurious to the chriſtian religion. Notwithſtanding the preſſing entreaties of the king, he was not able to obtain miſſionaries. This prince had to oppoſe an irruption of the Giagas, which was followed by a famine and the plague. The Portugueſe gave him no aſſiſtance under theſe misfortunes; and it appears that they wiſhed to compel him to diſcover to them the gold mines of his kingdom, which his predeceſſor had always carefully concealed. His confeſſor, though a Portugueſe, had adviſed him not to entruſt to foreigners a ſecret of ſo much importance to his empire. Don Alvarez II. however, complied, being urged by the circumſtances of the moment; and was received into favour by the court of Liſbon, which at length ſent out thoſe miſſionaries of whom the chriſtian religion had at

that time ſo much need. The good king aſſiſted them as far as he was able; and had the pleaſure of leaving to his ſon, along with the ſceptre, chriſtianity fully re-eſtabliſhed.

It is commonly reported that the new king, Don Bernard, was killed in a duel by his brother Alvarez III. If the latter obtained the crown by fratricide, he effaced the odiouſneſs of this crime from the minds of his ſubjects by a humane, religious, and juſt conduct. Theſe noble qualities gave reaſon to lament that his reign was ſhort. It laſted only ſeven years. The kings who ſucceeded him, Don Pedro II. Don Garcias I. Don Ambroſio, Don Alvarez IV. and Don Alvarez V. reigned altogether only fifteen years. The laſt fully deſerved the miſfortune which hurried him in the flower of his age from the throne to the grave. Having conceived unjuſt ſuſpicions againſt the duke de Bomba and the marquis de Chiona his brother, theſe two princes were obliged to raiſe troops for their own defence. The reſult of the war was not auſpicious to the king. He was taken priſoner by the two brothers; but, inſtead of abuſing their victory, they treated the vanquiſhed monarch with great reſpect, and conveyed him back to his capital, which they reſtored to him. The ſavage Alvarez, aſhamed of being indebted for his crown and his life to his ſubjects, no ſooner found himſelf at liberty than he levied an

Don Bernard, 1614. Don Alvarez III. 1615. Don Pedro II. 1622. Don Garcias I. 1624. Don Ambroſio, 1625. Don Alvarez IV. 1631. Don Alvarez V. 1636. Don Alvarez VI. 1637.

army, and marched againſt the two brothers. In this expedition he was ſtill more unfortunate than in the former, as it coſt him his life. The duke de Bomba was proclaimed king in his ſtead, under the name of Alvarez VI. but was almoſt immediately aſſaſſinated by the marquis de Chiona, his brother, who aſſumed that of Don Garcias II.

DonGarcias II. 1638. Don Antonio, 1658. Don Alvarez VII. 1662. Don Alvarez VIII. 1666.

Though he aſcended the throne by a crime, Don Garcias, at firſt, gave great hopes, on account of his ability in governing, as well as of his juſtice and his zeal for religion. All theſe virtues, however, were ſoon effaced by his ambition. He conceived a deſign of ſecuring the crown to his eldeſt ſon, Don Alphonſo, without election, and contrary to the laws. For that purpoſe it was neceſſary to deſtroy the princes of the blood, who, in preference to him and the duke de Bomba, had a right to the crown, which by the victory of the two brothers had been transferred to a foreign family, or to a very diſtant branch of that on the throne. Don Garcias ſpared none of theſe unfortunate princes whom he could diſcover. The catholic prieſts remonſtrated againſt his conduct; but he had recourſe to the ſoothſayers, ſorcerers, and magicians, who had aſſumed an aſcendancy while the Portugueſe deprived Congo of miſſionaries. Theſe people flattered the credulous and ſuperſtitious mind of Don Garcias; but obſerving that his

eldeſt ſon, Don Alphonſo, attached to chriſtianity, did not reliſh their idolatrous rites, theſe impoſtors found means to inſpire the father with ſuſpicions againſt him. This ſon, for whom Don Garcias had committed ſo many cruelties, he accuſed before an aſſembly of the ſtates of an attempt to poiſon him. He then cauſed him to be declared unworthy of the throne, and his ſecond ſon, Don Antonio, to be crowned in his preſence.

The firſt action of Don Antonio, on ſucceeding his father, was to put to death his elder brother. He had received orders for this purpoſe from Don Garcias when on his death-bed, as well as to ſpare none of the princes of the blood whom he might get into his power. Theſe orders he punctually executed, and carried his precautions ſo far as to diſpatch his youngeſt brother. As the greater part of the princes, having eſcaped the poniard of Don Garcias, took ſhelter in the kingdom of Angola, he made ſtrict ſearch to diſcover thoſe who had concealed themſelves in his own, and they were all maſſacred. By theſe meaſures, he accuſtomed himſelf ſo much to blood, that he ſhed it with as little remorſe as if he had been born among cannibals. The tyrant at laſt proceeded to ſuch exceſs of cruelty, that he ſcarcely could procure domeſtics to ſerve him. The catholic prieſts remonſtrated not only againſt theſe cruelties, but

alſo againſt the inceſtuous marriage he had contracted with one of his relations. He was, however, ſo incenſed, that he deprived the clergy of their property, and declared that he would extend his indignation to all the Portugueſe.

The latter put themſelves in a ſtate of defence, and began by taking poſſeſſion of the gold mines. Don Antonio, to oppoſe them, levied an army, as is ſaid, of five hundred thouſand men. His ſoothſayers aſſured him of victory; and that, eſcorted by the greateſt of the Portugueſe lords, he would enter in triumph St. Paul de Loanda, the capital of the kingdom of Angola, to which he was leading his troops. When the two armies met, the prudent Don Antonio retired to an eminence, from whence he could have a view of the combat. The Portugueſe, who did not amount to four thouſand, ſoon diſperſed the whole multitude, and a detachment marched directly towards the eminence. The guard made no reſiſtance; Don Antonio fell, and his head was carried round in triumph on the point of a lance:—an entrance very different from what had been predicted by his ſoothſayers. All that we know of his two ſucceſſors, Don Alvarez VII. and Don Alvarez VIII. does not deſerve a place in hiſtory; and if any events of importance have ſince occurred, we are entirely ignorant of them.

Angola.

The kingdom of Angola is a province diſmembered from Congo. The greater part of it is ſubject to the dominion of the Portugueſe. It has been extended along with the religion which they introduced into it; but the latter is as little known, and as badly practiſed, as in the kingdom of Congo. Religious feſtivals are, however, celebrated here with more pomp and magnificence. The king of Angola does not exerciſe over theſe provinces all the authority he wiſhes; and he is ſometimes obliged to employ force for the purpoſe of making his orders be reſpected. On theſe occaſions he is ſaid to have armies of five or ſix hundred thouſand men, diſciplined after the method of Congo. The general directs all their movements, and communicates his orders by the ſound of muſical inſtruments. His ſoldiers attack the enemy with loud ſhouts, and in appearanee with much fury; but if they are once thrown into confuſion by any panic or accident, they can be rallied neither by the general nor his inſtruments. All the drums and trumpets of Africa could not drown the horrible cries of one of theſe armies when flying. The great number of ſlaves with which this kingdom carries on trade, are procured on theſe occaſions, and wars are often undertaken for no other purpoſe.

Angola. The firſt governor who ſhook off the yoke of Congo, being called Angola, gave his name to the country, which was before known by that of Dango. For a long time he tranſmitted to the king of Congo the tribute which he owed him as governor; but ſeeing that prince engaged in a foreign war, he rendered himſelf independent. The Mani Congo, inſtead of making him return to his duty by force, thought himſelf extremely happy to obtain aſſiſtance from him againſt his enemies. They lived afterwards on good terms, and Angola attained to a great age, beloved and reſpected by his people. Finding his end approaching, as he had no male children, he was deſirous of tranſmitting the ſceptre to his eldeſt daughter Zunda Riangola. He communicated his project to his prime miniſter, whom he had raiſed to that dignity from a ſtate of ſlavery. The ambitious miniſter pretended to approve the meaſure, as he reſolved to turn it to his own advantage. The old king being one day in his palace, the miniſter ſpread a ſudden alarm, and ſent a meſſenger to announce that the enemy were at the gates. The monarch, in great trepidation, begged the miniſter to ſave him from the impending danger. The latter, who was young and vigorous, took Angola on his ſhoulders, carried him to the remote corner of a wood, and finding no one near him, pulled out a dagger, and plunged it into his heart. He

then returned as if overwhelmned with grief for the loſs of the king, whom he pretended to have been killed by an accident. The princeſs, for whom the throne was deſtined, found it neceſſary to diſſemble her ſentiments, and to ſuffer the aſſaſſin to place himſelf upon it; but whether naturally, or through the effects of poiſon, he was ſoon after carried off by a ſudden death.

Zunda Riangola having aſſumed the diadem, reſolved not to marry, that ſhe might have neither a companion, nor a cenſor of her conduct; but ſhe invited to reſide with her a ſiſter, named Tumma Riangola, who had two ſons. The queen being jealous of the eldeſt, the darling of the people, who looked up to him with great hope, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. The mother, in the utmoſt diſtreſs, levied an army to attack the murderer of her ſon. The two ſiſters took the field at the head of their troops, but thoſe of the queen gave way, and ſhe was taken priſoner. Tumma Riangola threw herſelf like one frantic on her barbarous ſiſter, and plunged a dagger into her boſom. Neither ſhe nor her huſband, however, would accept the crown, which they conferred upon their ſecond ſon Angola Chilvagni. Zunda Riangola.

This prince had a great number of wives, and many children, whom he eſtabliſhed, during his life-time, in different governments. At his death Angola Chilvagni I. Dambi Angola.

Angola Chilvagni II Ninga Angola.

he was ſucceeded by the eldeſt of his ſons, Dambi Angola, who being apprehenſive that his brothers might league againſt him to deprive him of the crown, had recourſe to the uſual expedient of putting to death as many as he could. Dambi, who was a monſter of avarice and cruelty, died univerſally deteſted. His funeral, however, was magnificent, according to the taſte of the country; and his grave was covered by a mountain of human bodies maſſacred in honour of his memory. His ſucceſſor, Angola Chilvagni II. was an intrepid warrior, and a man of great liberality, but exceedingly vain. His flatterers made him believe that he was one of the gods of the country; and he required that divine honours ſhould be paid to him. Ningha Angola, who ſucceeded, though not his ſon, diſplayed an inhuman character, and indulged in the greateſt cruelties. He died after a very ſhort reign; and in order that his death might reſemble his life, he was interred in the moſt ſolemn manner amidſt a hecatomb of human bodies.

Bandi Angola.

Bandi Angola carried his cruelty ſo far, that he alienated the affection of his ſubjects, and that they preferred falling into the hands of the Giagas to remaining in his. The cannibals ran to the aſſiſtance of their neighbours, as if they had been haſtening to a ſplendid banquet. The king of Congo and the Portugueſe thought it

good policy not to ſuffer the king of Angola to be oppreſſed by theſe barbarians, who might afterwards fall upon them. They therefore ſent troops to the relief of Bandi. The Portugueſe, in particular, rendered him the moſt eſſential ſervices; but by way of reward he entertained a deſign of cauſing them all to be maſſacred. The princeſs, the king's daughter, being enamoured of their brave general, informed him of the plot. He accordingly ſaved himſelf in time, carried his countrymen in ſafety to Congo, and ſet out for Portugal, from which he returned with a reinforcement that made Bandi tremble. The Portugueſe overran the country with fire and ſword; but the greateſt miſchief they did to the monarch was by ſupporting a plan formed againſt his life. The conſpirators made uſe of a ſtratagem, which ſhews that this prince was very ill ſerved by his ſpies. They went to inform him that a rebel was marching through the country, and cauſing terrible devaſtation. On their entreaty, Bandi allowed them to raiſe troops, with which they made a feint of going to attack an enemy, who did not exiſt. They then pretended that they had defeated him; and thus induced the king to repair to the camp to participate in the triumph. He went thither without any ſuſpicion; and being ſurrounded by the conſpirators, was inſtantly diſpatched.

Nighola-m-Bandi.

He left a ſon and three daughters, all born by one female ſlave. According to the laws of the country, none of theſe children could inherit the throne, on account of the ſervile ſtate of their mother; yet, by means of intrigue, the ſon, named Nighola-m-Bandi, was acknowledged as ſovereign. He was indebted for his good fortune chiefly to his ſiſters, who, by their excellent qualities, and well-timed liberality, had gained the eſteem of the great, and the affection of the people. The eldeſt was called Zingha Bandi; the names of the other two were Cambi and Fungi. The king's firſt care was to endeavour to bring about a peace with the Portugueſe; and he entruſted the negociation to his ſiſter Zingha. She was the ſame perhaps who before the death of her father had informed the Portugueſe general of the deſign formed to deſtroy him, as well as his countrymen; and, in that caſe, the monarch could not have choſen an envoy more likely to ſucceed.

This princeſs waited on the Portugueſe viceroy, attended by a retinue worthy of her rank, and was received with the greateſt marks of diſtinction. On entering the hall of audience, ſhe obſerved a magnificent chair deſtined for the viceroy, and oppoſite to it, on the ground, a ſuperb carpet and two cuſhions for her. She was diſpleaſed with this ceremonial; but without

ſeeming offended, ſhe made a private ſign to one of the ladies of her ſuite, who immediately fell on her knees on the carpet, and leaning on her elbows, preſented her back to her miſtreſs. Zingha placed herſelf upon it, and remained in that ſituation during the whole conference. The Portugueſe, among other conditions of peace, required that the king of Angola ſhould acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of the crown of Portugal, and pay an annual tribute. The haughty princeſs rejected theſe terms with indignation. "They are fit to be propoſed," ſaid ſhe, "only "to a people conquered by the force of arms, "and not to a powerful ſovereign, who ſolicits "of his own free will the friendſhip of the Por- "tugueſe." Zingha obtained what ſhe deſired. When the viceroy was taking leave, he remarked to her, that the lady on whom ſhe had ſat remained ſtill in the ſame poſture, and begged ſhe would deſire her to riſe; upon which ſhe replied: "It does not become the ambaſſa- "dreſs of a great king to make twice uſe of the "ſame chair: I leave her to you."

The princeſs was ſo charmed with the politeneſs of the Portugueſe, and the honours paid to her, that ſhe remained ſome time at Loanda, their capital. Her attention was particularly attracted by the troops; the arms, good order, and diſcipline of which ſhe much admired. Whether from policy or taſte, ſhe cauſed herſelf to

be inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, and was baptized. When ſhe returned to her brother, ſhe prevailed on him to receive inſtruction, and to ſend for miſſionaries; but when they arrived the king would not hear them. He delayed alſo to ratify the treaty concluded by his ſiſter, and theſe tergiverſations rekindled the war. There is reaſon to conjecture, that Zingha, incenſed at this inſult offered to her by her brother, though ſhe abſtained from openly eſpouſing the party of the Portugueſe, did not declare in his favour. He became therefore ſuſpicious of her; and being uncertain reſpecting the fate of the war, entruſted his only ſon to a chief of the Giagas, his neighbour, that in caſe of any ſiniſter event, he might be protected from the cruelty of his ſiſter. Fortune was not favourable to this prince. The Portugueſe defeated his army, and ſhut him up in a ſmall iſland, where he was expoſed to the danger of being devoured by wild beaſts, or of periſhing by famine. His ſiſter, it is ſaid, prevented this cataſtrophe, and it is believed that ſhe cauſed him to be poiſoned.

Zingha, 1627.

Zingha aſcended the throne to the prejudice of her nephew. She alſo juſtified the other fear of her brother; and having induced the young prince, by feigned careſſes, to viſit her, ſtabbed him with her own hand. This commencement fully ſhewed what might be expected from her

in future; and the Portugueſe ſoon perceived that in her they would have a formidable enemy. They had got into their hands the moſt beautiful part of Angola;—an uſurpation ſhe was as little diſpoſed to ſuffer as ſhe was to confine herſelf within the province of Matamba, the only poſſeſſion they ſeemed willing to leave to her under the name of kingdom. Zingha declared war as ſoon as ſhe had made the neceſſary preparations to ſtrengthen her power by alliances with the Giagas, and other idolatrous princes. She entered into a treaty alſo with the king of Congo, and even with the Dutch, who were then at war with the Portugueſe. The princeſs attacked the latter with great boldneſs, and gained ſome advantages; but in the midſt of her ſucceſs was deſerted by her allies. The Dutch were obliged to retire, and the king of Congo recalled his troops. Misfortunes ſucceeded each other ſo rapidly, that, being abandoned even by her own ſubjects, ſhe was reduced to the neceſſity of quitting her ſtates, and of taking ſhelter in the deſerts.

The Portugueſe now entertained hopes that they ſhould be able to make her comply with their wiſhes. They ſent her an offer of peace, provided ſhe would ſubmit to pay a certain tribute, and agree to ſome other conditions, which, they ſaid, were not diſagreeable to her ſubjects. She, however, replied: "My people may wear

" chains if they are baſe enough to ſuffer them " to be impoſed on them: as for me, I ſhall " never be dependent on a foreign power." This reſolution was, in ſome meaſure, not unexpected. Finding, therefore, that there was no more room for negociation, they appointed king of Angola a perſon choſen from among the princes of the royal family. They obliged him to embrace the chriſtian religion, and at baptiſm gave him the name of John. He lived only a ſhort time; and was ſucceeded by another called Philip, who was raiſed to the throne on the ſame conditions.

Zingha, highly incenſed to find herſelf ſtripped of her fineſt provinces, and to ſee another thruſt into her place, threw herſelf in deſpair into the hands of the Giagas; openly renounced the chriſtian religion, and adopted that of the pagans, with all their ſuperſtitious rites and inhuman ſacrifices. She was elected their chief, and became more ferocious than their *ſinghilles*, or the moſt barbarous of their prieſts. Zingha revived that practice of the Giagas, by which women, when they brought forth children, ceaſed to be mothers. She obliged them to deſtroy all their offſpring below ſeven years of age. She re-eſtabliſhed all the diabolical ceremonies of theſe monſters, and appeared, under arms, at their head. Having as much ſkill and vigour as the moſt expert ſoldier, to bend the bow, or hurl the

javelin, ſhe was the foremoſt to expoſe herſelf to the moſt imminent danger; and acquired ſo much credit among theſe cannibals, by conforming to their manner of life, and even out-doing them, if poſſible, in cruelty, that on the leaſt ſignal they were ready to follow her on the moſt perilous enterprizes. With this confuſed multitude, of whom ſhe compoſed a formidable army, Zingha entered the provinces ſubject to the Portugueſe. She, however, did not amuſe herſelf with attacking fortified places, for which her troops were not proper, but ravaged the level country with the fury of a ferocious animal; maſſacred and burnt, plundered and deſtroyed, wherever ſhe went; and having retired, loaded with booty, re-appeared again when ſhe was ſuppoſed to be at a conſiderable diſtance.

This war continued ſeveral years. Zingha experienced ſome loſſes; but ſhe found means to repair them by her valour and prudence. Attempts were made to leſſen her authority, by ſpreading a report among the Giagas that ſhe inclined to chriſtianity, and was ready to return to that religion. To deſtroy this opinion, ſo fatal to her power, ſhe united herſelf more cloſely than ever to the *ſinghilles*, and indulged with more ardour in all thoſe abominations which could gain the affections of the ſoldiers. She had among them a number of ſpies, who com-

municated to her whatever they did or ſaid. By making proper uſe of theſe diſcoveries, ſhe was at length conſidered as a divinity; her words were like the reſponſes of an oracle; and a look or a geſture were often a ſentence of death, which ſtruck terror into the moſt intrepid.

The Portugueſe could find no other means of checking her impetuous courſe than by oppoſing to her another chief of the Giagas. While they were engaged in hoſtilities, the Europeans enjoyed ſome tranquillity; but they were at the ſame time afraid that theſe barbarians, by often meeting each other in the field, might at laſt unite, which would render the fate of their provinces ſtill worſe. They endeavoured, therefore, to induce Zingha to adopt a pacific diſpoſition, and ſent an embaſſador to her under a pretence of becoming mediators between her and the Giagas her enemies. As they imagined that ſhe was not abſolutely averſe to chriſtianity, they diſpatched along with the embaſſador, whoſe name was Don Gaſpar Borgia, a prieſt called Don Antonio Cœglio, who, while the former was treating in regard to political affairs, was to try to revive in her mind thoſe ſparks of religion which were ſuppoſed not to be altogether extinguiſhed.

Each diſcharged his commiſſion with prudence and ability; but neither of them ſucceeded. She replied to the former, that ſhe would conſider

it an honour to be allied to their king, but none to be his ſubject; and that in regard to the ſect of the Giagas, among whom ſhe had lived for ſeveral years, and who had ſupplied her with an immenſe number of ſoldiers, both her honour and intereſt required that ſhe ſhould always afford them ſupport and protection. She told the latter that ſhe remembered extremely well that ſhe had embraced chriſtianity, and had been baptized; but that the time was not then proper for ſpeaking to her of any change: and ſhe deſired them to remember that it was entirely owing to them that ſhe had abjured their religion. The negociation, therefore, returned without ſucceſs, but not without hopes.

Opportunities, indeed, occurred of renewing the attempt. Zingha having experienced loſſes and vexation, Don Salvador Correa, the Portugueſe viceroy, a man of great moderation and prudence, thought the moment favourable for overcoming, by kind offers, that ſpirit which could not be ſubdued by force. He therefore diſpatched two capuchin miſſionaries, men diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom, who were charged to thank her for ſome favours ſhe had conferred on the chriſtians in her ſtates, and to ſolicit a continuance of them. She received them with kindneſs, and granted their requeſt. They embraced this opportunity of repreſenting to

her the crime of her apoſtacy, and what danger ſhe incurred by perſiſting in it.

The queen was moved, and fetching a deep ſigh, addreſſed them as follows: "O my fathers! "may God have pity on a princeſs, wounded "in the moſt ſenſible part. It is by the fault of "another that I am reduced to the condition in "which you now ſee me. I ſhould not have "been ſo—I ſhould not now live in torture, "which words cannot expreſs—had I not been "deprived of my rights. Have compaſſion "upon me. I have been robbed of my ſtates, "and attempts are now made to oblige me to "loſe my ſoul. I am perfectly ſenſible that I "am not in the right way; but I muſt continue "in my error, unleſs I chooſe to become an ob-"ject of contempt to my people. I muſt alſo "remain in it, until the uſurpers reſtore every "thing they have taken from me. Reflect, "yourſelves, how unfortunate I am to ſpend all "my life in the tumult of arms, and amidſt "ſlaughter. Pray then to God for me, that he "would deign to break the chains with which I "am loaded; becauſe I am too weak to do it "myſelf. In that caſe I promiſe to the divine "Majeſty that I will grant you every power you "wiſh, in order that you may labour for the "converſion of my people; and, at the ſame "time, I will aſſiſt you with all my forces."

The concluſion of this ſpeech, which was accompanied with tears, convinced the miſſionaries that the Portugueſe would never be able to bend this haughty princeſs, as long as they perſiſted in attempting to make her ſubmit to the tribute and homage which they wiſhed to impoſe upon her. The viceroy, to whom they reported what they had done, was of the ſame opinion. Though oppoſed by his council, he relaxed in his pretenſions; entered into a ſincere negotiation with Zingha; and, having reſtored to her ſome provinces, acknowledged her as the ally, and not the ſubject, of Portugal. The queen was affected by this open and generous conduct: ſhe relaxed alſo on her part; granted with good will what could never have been extorted from her by force; and thought of nothing but the evil ſhe had done, particularly in regard to religion.

She had, however, little time remaining for that purpoſe, as ſhe was already ſeventy-five years of age; but ſhe exerted herſelf with all the ardour of a young convert. She returned with the utmoſt ſincerity into the boſom of the church, and exhorted her ſubjects to follow her example. She was ſo much feared and reſpected that this change occaſioned no commotion. The *ſinghilles* murmured, but they durſt not attempt to excite any diſturbance. Having firſt employed gentle means, ſhe iſſued ſevere edicts againſt idolatry; and in order to reſtore mar-

riage to an honourable eſtate, ſhe ſubjected herſelf to that bond, and made Fungi Cambi, who was almoſt as old, follow her example. She prohibited polygamy, and forbade mothers in future to expoſe their children, or to get rid of them in any other manner. We might conſider as marks of her converſion the churches ſhe built, and the riches with which ſhe endowed them; but theſe equivocal ſigns are of leſs importance than the uninterrupted proofs which ſhe gave of ſincere piety, and the care ſhe took to adminiſter juſtice, to relieve the wants of her people, and to inſtruct them herſelf as their catechiſt and mother.

Zingha died while engaged in theſe laudable occupations, at the age of nearly eighty. She expreſsly forbade the inhuman ſacrifices, uſed among the Giagas, to be revived at her death; but the ladies of the court, more affected by the fear of ſeeing the ancient practice renewed, than encouraged by the prohibition, all fled when the body was about to be depoſited in the grave, and did not appear again until it was covered with earth. They abandoned themſelves then, like the reſt of the people, to ſighs and lamentation: their regret, being founded on eſteem, was ſincere. Every perſon was inſpired by the ſame ſentiments, and even thoſe who were diſpleaſed at her change of religion, and who had ſuffered by it, forgave her on account

of her eminent qualities. Her death put an end to the empire. Her ſiſter ſwayed the ſceptre only for a year, with a hand enfeebled by age. The kings appointed by the Portugueſe—or rather they themſelves, in the name of theſe princes—united under their dominion all the provinces poſſeſſed by Zingha; and tired at length of maintaining theſe phantoms of ſovereigns, they converted the kingdom of Angola into one of their moſt uſeful colonies, under the command of a viceroy.

Loango.

Loango is alſo a part detached from the kingdom of Congo. In travelling through the provinces ſome cuſtoms are found not common in the whole country. Such, for example, as that in Camma, where the huſbands are ſo free from jealouſy, that they offer their wives to their friends and even to ſtrangers. If they receive them they are the more eſteemed: and the caſe is the ſame after they have been well beat by their huſbands; this treatment is a mark of conjugal affection. At Gobbi, in the time of a plague, one of the miſſionaries ſaw the inhabitants burn their deity after they had invoked it in vain. "Since it can be of no uſe to us," ſaid they," "in ſuch a calamity as this, what aſſiſtance can we expect from it in others?" When the miſſionaries went into any of the

houſes, they were informed that entrance into the apartment of their wives was forbidden: this prohibition is to prevent ſtrangers from going thither, as they think themſelves obliged to give two nights of their wives to thoſe who viſit them.

The inhabitants of Loango are known by the name of *Barmas*. They are tall, vigorous, and well made, and exceedingly civil, though they were formerly anthropophagi. Polygamy is every-where allowed. Except the difference, which has been mentioned in regard to Camma, jealouſy prevails in general throughout the nation. Opulent people have ten or twelve lawful wives, who are, however, as much ſlaves as the reſt; that is to ſay, are burthened with all the laborious part of their domeſtic economy. They never eat with their huſbands; they feed on what they leave; and never ſpeak to them but on their knees, and with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion. The children follow the ſtate of their mother, and according to her condition are born ſlaves or free. They never inherit the property of their father, which at his deceaſe falls to his brother or eldeſt ſiſter. White children, who have grey eyes, with white or red hair, are ſometimes born of negro parents: on the firſt view, one might take them for Europeans, but on examining them more cloſely their complexion has the cadaverous appearance of a corpſe.

They are weak-ſighted, and do not ſee clearly but by moon-light: they are ſaid to be incapable of engendering. When any of them are born, they are preſented to the king, who makes them ſorcerers and ſoothſayers, or ſometimes counſellors. The Portugueſe call them *albinos*.

Every perſon here has a deity of his own, which he calls *mokiſſo* and *ſetiche*. The houſes are covered with them, under all kinds of figures —of men and women, birds, trees, and others of the like kind. The moſt devout carry them ſuſpended from their necks in a ſmall box. None but old men are ſet apart for the worſhip of theſe gods. They are conſecrated by the *enganga mokiſſo*, or chief of the magicians, with the moſt ridiculous ceremonies, but which give to the prieſts great authority. They pretend to the art of diſcovering thoſe who have occaſioned death—which, as in Congo, is never ſuppoſed to be natural; and this indication is attended with the ſame advantages to the prieſts, and produces the ſame misfortunes to the nation, as in the former kingdom.

The royal family believe in tranſmigration; the others place the ſouls of their dead in their domeſtic gods, and by theſe means convert them into tutelary ſpirits, for whom they prepare beautiful habitations, or a kind of chapels, where they offer to them the firſt fruits of all their productions: they neither taſte food nor

drink until it has been taſted by a mokiſſo. Some conſign the ſouls of the deceaſed to heaven, and others baniſh them below the earth, according to their merit, after they have ſojourned in the body. Others are perſuaded that they die with the body, unleſs they are kept alive by conjuration: this is ſtill a ſource of profit to the ſorcerers. The ſovereigns of this country have found means to make the people believe that they themſelves are mokiſſos—the cauſes of good and evil—abundance, peace, and happineſs, when they are well pleaſed, but war, famine, and calamities of every kind, when their ſubjects deviate from their duty. Every perſon who holds a diſtinguiſhed office is eſteemed by the people in proportion to his dignity. Such ideas are exceedingly well calculated to promote ſubordination. They bury many things with their dead; and mourn for them, according to their rank, certain hours and days, but never more than three, during which time they muſt make dreadful lamentations. Foreigners are not interred in the country, as they imagine that their bodies would occaſion to it ſome misfortune. They are thrown into a river or into the ſea.

The Europeans cannot trade here until they have obtained the king's permiſſion, which they are obliged to purchaſe. His ſubjects give him the title of *ſambo ponge*, which ſignifies god.

This is no doubt proper, ſince they believe that all events depend upon him in his quality of mokiſſo. The chief officers of the kingdom are held in great reſpect. Every man being born a ſoldier, they are all obliged to appear at reviews, and to take the field when called upon; but they are wretched troops. The laws, except thoſe againſt treaſon, are not very ſevere; yet any of the king's wives, if convicted of adultery, would be burnt alive. His daughters, ſiſters, and other relations, however, whom he gives in marriage to the grandees of the kingdom, enjoy full liberty in this reſpect, and may abuſe it if they think proper: the huſband has not the ſame privilege. The king eats in one hall, and drinks in another. No one, under pain of death, muſt ſee him on theſe occaſions. The adminiſtration of juſtice is his principal occupation, and employs his time during the greater part of the day. When he appears in public it is with great pomp, amidſt the noiſe of acclamations and of muſical inſtruments. The albinos, with dwarfs and pigmies, form part of his retinue: the latter race of men are found in the frontiers, at the diſtance of a month's journey from the capital. Their chief buſineſs is the hunting of elephants, which ſeem to contemn their diminutive ſize; and they occaſion great deſtruction among theſe enormous quadrupeds. Though of ſmall ſta-

ture, they are formidable enemies. It is a mark of great favour to be admitted to reſt one's hands on the king's knees, and to recline the head on his boſom. The crown does not paſs in ſucceſſion to the monarch's children, but to the eldeſt of thoſe of his brother or his ſiſter. The kings are in alliance with Portugal, but they do not ſeem to be dependent on it. Chriſtianity is in a more feeble ſtate here than in Congo and Angola.

Theſe three kingdoms have often been haraſſed by the Giagas. It is to be remarked, that it was a woman who added a kind of religious fanaticiſm to the ferocity of theſe monſters, and who conſequently rendered their barbarity more active and dangerous; her name was Tem Bam Dumba. She was the daughter of Donais, the captain of one of theſe wandering hordes, who traverſe the deſerts of Africa, and Muſſaſa his wife. The places on the ſea-coaſt often fell a prey to the cruelty of theſe barbarians, as they were more populous, and therefore more capable of ſupplying them with the means of glutting themſelves with human blood, their thirſt of which was inſatiable. They drank it from the ſculls of thoſe they had butchered; and to make the fleſh of their unhappy victims tender, they expoſed them to the moſt cruel torments. Quizzuva, one of theſe chiefs, cauſed a ſquare before his habitation to be paved with

the bones of thoſe he had devoured. When Donais died, his ſpouſe Muſſaſa, a bold and intrepid woman, aſſumed the command; and, having been educated from her infancy amidſt ſlaughter, was always the foremoſt in battle, and the laſt to retire. She was fond of appearing in the dreſs and with the armour of a man. The warlike diſpoſition which ſhe obſerved in her daughter induced her to equip her in the ſame manner, and to make her follow her in her expeditions.

Tem Bam Dumba improved ſo much under her mother, that the latter did not heſitate to place her at the head of a party of her troops. The daughter, amidſt the licentiouſneſs of a camp, abandoned herſelf, without reſerve, to her voluptuous inclinations. She had lovers without number, whom ſhe put to death privately as ſoon as ſhe began to be tired of them. Her mother reclaimed her, however, from her exceſſes. Tem Bam Dumba revolted openly againſt her, and corrupted her army. Her exploits made her to be conſidered by the ſoldiers, not only as an extraordinary young woman, but as a divinity. She herſelf pretended to be inſpired, and deſtined to lay the foundations of an empire which would eternize her memory. Being dreſſed and armed like a man, ſhe appeared at the head of her troops, and addreſſed them as follows: "I am deſirous of reviving the laws

" and ceremonies of the ancient Giagas, which " will be the infallible means of rendering you " all rich and happy. The example I am about " to give is worthy of your courage. If you " do not follow it I ſhall believe that you have " degenerated from your illuſtrious race."

After this ſpeech, which attracted the attention of her ſoldiers, ſhe ſent for her only ſon; the megæra then threw him into a mortar, pounded him herſelf, and having reduced his body to a paſte, placed it on the fire in a kettle, with certain powders, roots, and oil, made an ointment of it, and pulling off her clothes, cauſed her whole body to be rubbed over with it in the preſence of the people. " All thoſe," ſaid ſhe, " who ſhall anoint their bodies as I have done " mine will be invulnerable, and ſure of ſuc- " ceeding in all their enterprizes." She then added, that the ointment to be more efficacious ought to be made from the fleſh of the children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families, voluntarily ſacrificed by their parents. This charm was ſuppoſed to inſpire people alſo with military talents, and to give them prudence and wiſdom in their councils. Tem Bam Dumba enacted laws which all tended to excite a ſpirit of ferocity. Male children were excluded, till a certain age, from the *kilombo*, or camp; thoſe who appeared there before the preſcribed period were devoted to deſtruction, and women were forbidden to

bring forth in it under pain of being condemned to devour their own offspring, or of ſubmitting to death themſelves. Children born deformed or imperfect were ordered to be thrown to the dogs. Theſe laws ſhe called *quixilles*, that is to ſay, inviolable. This horrid code concluded with an injunction to her ſubjects to feed always on human fleſh, in preference to any other. We are told of one of her worthy diſciples, who cauſed a young woman to be butchered every day for her table. Thus two paſſions carried to exceſs—vengeance and ambition—converted into monſters two women, who were, perhaps, formed to be heroines. A diſtinction, however, ought to be made between the penitent Zingha, and Tem Bam Dumba—tranquil amidſt her crimes, and opening to herſelf the grave by a continuation of atrocities.

After ſacrificing a great number of lovers to conceal her debaucheries, ſhe became ſo far enamoured of a common ſoldier, named Culemba, that ſhe married him. He, however, required intreaty before he would comply with her wiſhes; and when he at laſt conſented he reſolved to anticipate her deſign as ſoon as he ſhould find that her paſſion began to cool. Culemba watched his ſpouſe ſo narrowly, that, notwithſtanding her affectation, he diſcovered that ſhe looked on him with an eye of indifference. From ſuch ſentiments to hatred the tran-

ſition is ſhort; but he did not ſuffer that tranſition to take place—he diſpatched her by poiſon, and ſucceeded her on the throne. In the room of that megæra he took an amiable concubine, who ſoftened his manners, and made him quit the fatigues of war for a life of peace and tranquillity. Chinguri, his ſucceſſor, whoſe name ſignifies lion, was like that king of the animals—inſatiable for blood and rapine. He was killed in a battle, and his ſucceſſor Caluximbo, though a great warrior, was of a tender and humane diſpoſition. He was deſirous of mitigating ſome of thoſe laws which had been made by Tem Bam Dumba: this attempt diſpleaſed his ſubjects, who aſſaſſinated him to appeaſe, as they ſaid, the manes of Tem Bam Dumba. After him, till the year 1657, we find a ſeries of the chiefs of theſe Giagas Muſimbi; which was ſo much the longer as they appeared only for a moment on that bloody throne. He who had received protection maſſacred his benefactor; the ſon aſſaſſinated the father; and it is much to be wiſhed that all the ſoldiers had imitated their commanders to exterminate this curſed race.

The kingdoms of Anziko, Fungeno, Biafar, and Calbaria, which are more or leſs diſtant from Loango, towards the interior part of the country, pour forth on the coaſts monſters of a like kind. It is ſaid that the Anzikeſe can diſ-

charge twenty-eight arrows before the firſt falls to the ground. To have two teeth fewer above and two below is conſidered by their women as an ornament, but they muſt not be pulled out until they are fit for marriage: thoſe who ſhould refuſe to have this mark of beauty would be diſhonoured. When they take priſoners they tie them to a ſtake, and ſubject them to a proof of their courage by ſhooting at them as if at a mark, but in ſuch a manner that the arrows only paſs near them: thoſe who teſtify fear are killed and eaten, but thoſe who appear intrepid they adopt. They recruit their armies with theſe priſoners, accuſtom them to human fleſh, if they are not accuſtomed to it already, and ſoon render them as barbarous and ferocious as themſelves.

GUINEA.

Returning from the interior part of the country, inhabited by the monſters before mentioned, we arrive at Guinea, the air of which is unwholeſome on account of the vapours and exhalations raiſed by the exceſſive heat. The moſquitos or gnats are here exceedingly troubleſome. Their ſting is ſo painful and poiſonous that it inflames the neighbouring parts, and occaſions ulcers. It is difficult to land on the coaſts of Guinea, as it is bordered by a kind of reef or bank of ſand; and veſſels are expoſed to

great danger in approaching it, except at the mouths of rivers. The trade for ſlaves muſt be carried on at certain periods. If it be continued beyond theſe, the ſhips run the riſque of being detained a whole ſeaſon, and of loſing all the profit of their voyage. The country, which is watered by a great many ſtreams, is exceedingly fertile, and well covered with wood.

Benin.

The kingdom of Benin has a capital of the ſame name, which for that country is remarkably well built. A ſight of the market would not much excite the appetite of an European. The fleſh of dogs, of which the negroes are exceedingly fond, roaſted apes, bats, rats, and lizards, may be ſeen expoſed in it for ſale. The king is never approached but by three miniſters, who convey to him the verbal petitions of his ſubjects and carry back his anſwers. One may readily believe that theſe lords deliver them in ſuch words as are beſt ſuited to their own views. When the monarch finds death approaching, he ſends for the chief of them, and tells him, in private, which of his children he appoints to be his ſucceſſor, but his name muſt be diſcloſed to no other perſon. In this manner he has it in his power to raiſe to the throne whichever of them he pleaſes. In general they are very numerous. They all pay their court to the confidant; and,

as may be readily conceived, with great ſolicitude, as all, except he for whom the crown is deſtined, are ſure of being put to death. At the monarch's funeral the body is thrown into a deep pit, having a narrow mouth, and along with it as many courtiers, women, and officers in his ſervice, as it is capable of containing, and it is then ſhut up. Next morning it is opened, and they are aſked ſeveral times, in ſucceſſion, whether they have found the king, until no more ſighs or lamentations are heard: it is then judged that they have departed with the prince, and gone to ſerve him in the other world. The night following the prieſts of the idols diſperſe themſelves throughout the ſtreets, aſſaſſinate without diſtinction every perſon they meet, and ſend them to aſſiſt thoſe who had gone before with the king.

The inhabitants of Benin, however, are accounted mild and humane, and enemies to every kind of violence. Though very much addicted to women, they avoid, contrary to the cuſtom of the other negroes, all coarſe obſcenity in their converſation; but they have no objection to double entendres. Thoſe who poſſeſs the art of wrapping up indelicate ideas in decent words are accounted witty. Poligamy is generally practiſed, as well as the circumciſion of both ſexes. They are exceedingly jealous of each other, but not of the Europeans; for they do not

think it poſſible that their women can have ſo little taſte as to be fond of the whites. They pay and receive viſits, converſe with each other, and eat together, which is a proof of a ſociableneſs very uncommon among the blacks. The trials by ordeal, formerly practiſed in Europe, are in uſe at Benin:—ſuch as thoſe by red-hot iron, immerſion, and potions adminiſtered by the prieſts. They are afraid of their ſhadow, and with great reaſon, as they imagine it to be a real being, who will one day witneſs againſt them whether they have led a good or a bad life. This perſuaſion is as powerful a reſtraint as a great many laws. Their magiſtrates are ornamented with a collar of coral, which is a badge of their dignity. To loſe it, or ſuffer it to be ſtolen, is a crime worthy of death. On the ſlave coaſt lie the kingdoms of Cano and Popo. The name of this coaſt indicates the trade which is there carried on.

Juida.

All the Europeans who have been at Juida ſpeak of it with admiration, as being one of the moſt delightful countries in the univerſe. Imagination cannot paint any thing more agreeable and enchanting than the verdure of the meadows and the beauty of the fields. The whole kingdom is like a garden, encloſed on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by high mountains.

Some travellers make it ſcarcely ſixteen leagues in circumference; but in ſo ſmall a ſpace the population is prodigious. One village often contains more inhabitants than ſome kingdoms on the coaſt. The houſes ſtand contiguous in the villages, which are never at a greater diſtance from each other than a gun-ſhot. In one field the natives may be ſeen tilling, ſowing, and reaping, in the ſame ſeaſon; and the tree from which they collect ripe fruit gratifies the ſmell, at the ſame time, with the perfume of its bloſſom. The men ſell every thing in the markets and fairs, except bread and liquors, the diſtribution of which is reſerved for the women, who are expert in traffic, and excellent and ready calculators.

The inhabitants of Juida ſeem to poſſeſs many of the qualities of the Chineſe:—the ſame love of labour, the ſame induſtry, the ſame ceremonious civility, the ſame jealous affection for their wives, the ſame cunning to cheat in commerce, and the ſame external politeneſs towards ſtrangers. Were they to meet an European a hundred times the ſame day, a hundred times would they fall down on their knees and kiſs the ground, and would not riſe but on a ſignal given by the perſon whom they were ſaluting. They do the ſame thing to each other; ſo that hundreds of them may be ſeen at once on their knees, as if all engaged in ſome act of

public devotion. The women perform all the ſevere labours, and particularly thoſe of agriculture. People who meet thoſe of the king, run the riſk of loſing their lives; and for that reaſon they call out to the men, at a diſtance, to retire from the way. The monarch in his palace is ſerved by females only. Young women, however, are not very deſirous of being admitted into it; becauſe, unleſs the monarch caſts a favourable eye upon them, they are condemned to perpetual celibacy. A beauty who had been carried thither by force, made her eſcape, and threw herſelf into a well. There are reckoned to be a thouſand of them. This palace is like a park, from which he ſometimes takes twenty, in order to be ſold; but their places are ſoon ſupplied by thoſe whom the great men of his court preſent to him, for the purpoſe of obtaining his favour. The women, like the reſt, are made to labour in companies in the fields. They are exceedingly prolific, and the men are ardent and vigorous. A viceroy once formed an army of his ſons and grandſons, to the number of two thouſand. A captain, not very old, once complained that he had only ſeventy children alive, having loſt the ſame number. Families of a hundred and fifty children are not uncommon. It is needleſs to ſay that polygamy is practiſed. In no country have the men more wives, and no-where are they more jealous.

Theſe negroes are moſt dextrous thieves. If complaints are made on this head, the king orders the criminal to be ſought for and puniſhed; but as the monarch's ſon and his other relations get, in general, part of the plunder, they conceal the thief. If a girl has given any proofs of fecundity before marriage, ſhe is more courted, becauſe it is then certain that ſhe will have children. A divorce may be obtained by giving to the parents double the expenſe of the marriage entertainment, which never amounts to a large ſum. It ſeldom exceeds a ſheep, or ſomething of the like kind. The women inhabit certain huts at a diſtance, when nature, in concert with the laws of the country, require it. Circumciſion is in uſe for both ſexes. The men look upon their wives as ſlaves, and ſell them without regret; but they preſerve and have the moſt tender affection for their male children. The latter entertain the utmoſt reſpect for their father, and the eldeſt brother, who alone is heir. Some imagine, that they can diſcover in theſe cuſtoms, traces of Judaiſm. Two ſcourges prevail here—an unwholeſome atmoſphere, and a paſſion for gaming: that for muſic and dancing is alſo ſtrong, but far leſs dangerous. Their dancing is not deſtitute of preciſion, nor their ſinging of harmony. People, ſays a certain author, muſt be careful not to pronounce the word death before the king, as they would be ex-

poſed to the danger of loſing their lives. They do not run the ſame riſk with others; but ſtill they are not beheld with a favourable eye if they are ſo indiſcreet as to utter it. They, however, raiſe mauſolea to the memory of their relations, and often pay a viſit to theſe funeral monuments.

If the ancient pagans boaſted of having thirty thouſand idols, thoſe of Juida have four times as many. They call them fetiches, and conſider them as the governors of the univerſe; for God, according to their belief, does not interfere with it. "He is too great," ſay they, "to give "himſelf any trouble reſpecting things ſo incon- "ſiderable as the world or man." An inhabitant of Juida explains his mythology as follows: "The number of our gods," ſays he, "is "infinite; when one of us wiſhes to undertake "any thing of importance, he firſt ſearches for "a god who may enſure ſucceſs to his deſign. "Having gone out with this idea, he aſſumes for "his god the firſt object he meets;—a dog, a cat, "or any other animal, and even inanimate "things, ſuch as a ſtone or a log of wood. He "then preſents ſome offerings to the object he "has choſen for his god; and promiſes, if it "grant ſucceſs to his undertaking, that he will "conſider it as a deity, and, as ſuch, pay it "divine honour. If his enterprize be attended "with ſucceſs, he has found out a new god,

" and he daily preſents to it offerings; but if it " proves unfortunate, he rejects it as a thing of " no uſe."

They, however, acknowledge three principal deities:—the ſea, large trees, and a certain kind of ſerpent. That which they invoke has a head of a large ſize, and almoſt round, with eyes open and mild. Its tongue, which is pretty ſhort, is pointed like a dart; and, unleſs when about to attack ſome venomous ſerpent, it is not very active in its motion. Its tail is ſlender and ſharp-pointed: its ſkin is exceedingly beautiful; the ground of it being white covered with undulating marks, in which yellow, blue, and brown, are intermixed in a moſt agreeable manner. This ſerpent, which is of a mild and gentle nature, ſuffers itſelf to be approached and handled. The largeſt are about ſix feet in length, and as thick as the arm. They are mortal enemies to the venomous ſnakes, which they attack wherever they meet them; and they ſeem to conſider it as their duty to deliver mankind from them. It is this utility, perhaps, which has procured them the adoration with which they are honoured. The father of the whole, which they ſay comes from Ardra, is ſtill alive, as they imagine, in a temple, where he is ſurrounded by prieſts devoted to his ſervice. They receive there immenſe preſents in valuable articles and proviſions.

The king ſets an example of this devotion; but it is ſaid from intereſt, becauſe he ſhares in the profit. Young women, touched by this ſerpent, are ſeized with a kind of phrenzy which cannot be cured but in private apartments, where they are kept ſome time by the prieſts at the expenſe of their parents. They are attacked by this phrenzy in public; and no one can aſſign a cauſe for it. They are conducted away by old women appointed for that purpoſe. In the time of the traveller who relates theſe facts, the king's daughter was no more exempted from this phrenzy than others; and was ſubjected to the like treatment. Theſe ſerpents every-where glide about, and are every where reſpected. However inconvenient they may be, great care muſt be taken not to do them any hurt. Some Engliſhmen having found one of them in a magazine killed it, as they were ignorant of its inviolability; but they were all maſſacred. The grand-ſerpent is attended not only by prieſts, but alſo by prieſteſſes, who are widows or old maids. Theſe prieſteſſes recruit their number by carrying away during fifteen nights, from every part of the kingdom, all the young women they can find. Theſe megæras initiate their pupils into every refinement of gallantry; and ſell, to the higheſt bidder, their favours, in the price of which they participate; but if nothing is to be gained, they become the moſt vigilant guardians

of their honour: not ſo much through a principle of virtue, ſay certain authors, as through ſpite—a common fault in old maids.

The government of Juida is monarchical. The puniſhment of death is ſeldom employed. If a grandee be guilty of any crime, the king detaches four or five hundred of his women to plunder and pull down his houſe. This ſentence is ſoon executed; for no one dares to reſiſt them. A creditor who is not able to recover a debt due to him ſeizes the firſt ſlave he meets, without taking the trouble to enquire to whom he belongs. The maſter, to get back his ſlave, is obliged to diſcharge the debt, and then cauſes the debtor to pay him. For this reaſon, people, in general, take care to arreſt the ſlaves of the rich. The crown is hereditary; and the ſon ſucceeds the father, but with the conſent of the great men of the kingdom. The heir apparent is educated like a plain individual of the loweſt rank; and no one is allowed to let him know his extraction. When his father's life is prolonged, he grows old in this ignorance, and in that of buſineſs; ſo that he finds himſelf incapable of mounting the throne, and the great take advantage of his bad government. The king of Juida is crowned by a nobleman of Ardra, who is ſent for with great pomp. When he arrives, he approaches the prince, makes a profound bow, and addreſſes him in a ſhort ſpeech. He then takes

off his helmet, and holding it between his hands, turns towards the people, and ſays with a loud voice: "Behold your king. Be faithful to him, "and your prayers ſhall be heard by the king of "Ardra, my maſter." This expreſſion ſeems to indicate a kind of vaſſalage on the part of the ſovereign of Juida; but it extends no farther than words.

The king's revenues ariſe from certain duties on merchandize, fines, and confiſcations; but chiefly from the productions of his lands, which are cultivated by ſerfs. The king is preſent at the cultivation of them, which is conducted by the great amidſt the ſound of muſical inſtruments. The implements of huſbandry, and the arms of the labourers, move together in cadence. Theſe ſlaves, who often work againſt their inclination, might be conſidered as the happieſt people in the world. They never approach the king but with marks of reſpect, which amount almoſt to adoration. No one is permitted to ſee him drink. If thoſe who have an opportunity of knowing, are aſked where the king ſleeps, they reply by another queſtion: "Where does "God ſleep?"

By the ceremony of the coronation of the kings of Juida, it might be judged that there is a great intimacy between him and that of Ardra. The latter kingdom, being governed by a weak prince, became expoſed to the arms of

Trudo Audati, king of Dahomey, who from the interior part of the country had puſhed his conqueſts as far as Ardra, where he intended to ſtop; but having diſcovered that the court was diſtracted with inteſtine broils, by the help of which it would not be impoſſible to get poſſeſſion of that fine country, he led thither his troops fluſhed with their victories over other people. The king of Ardra, without loſs of time, requeſted aſſiſtance from the king of Juida; repreſenting to him that it was not his intereſt to ſuffer him to be cruſhed by an enemy, who might afterwards attack him. In conſequence of this ſuſpicion, the king of Juida not only involved himſelf in a war with which he had no concern, but made uſe of ſome unguarded expreſſions which diſpleaſed Trudo Audati. This prince, after having defeated the king of Ardra, whoſe head he cauſed to be cut off, threw himſelf into the kingdom of Juida; and, without experiencing any reſiſtance, advanced ſtraight forwards to Sabee, or Xavier, the capital.

He was indebted for this facility of conqueſt to the ſtate in which the kingdom happened to be at that period. During ſeveral preceding reigns, the kings had lived in the moſt ſtupid indolence. Luxury and effeminacy, the effects of great riches, had crept in among the inhabitants, formerly ſo laborious. They were intoxi-

cated with prosperity, and entirely subdued by pleasure. The king of Dahomey had, therefore, only to appear with his cannibal hordes, in order to put to flight the timid multitude. The governors of the frontiers, being neither encouraged nor assisted, made peace on as favourable terms as they could. Plundering, ravaging, and driving before him an immense multitude, hurried on by terror, Trudo Audati arrived at the river, the only defence of the city. As he did not flatter himself with the hope that the passage would not be disputed, he encamped to give his soldiers time to breathe; but, instead of military preparation and means of defence, he saw priests, followed by crowds of people, come every evening and morning to offer up sacrifice to the great serpent, and afterwards return with loud shouts.

During these ridiculous ceremonies, the king of Dahomey caused search to be made for a ford; which being found, two hundred soldiers passed the river, and marched towards the town with their colours displayed, and amidst the sound of musical instruments. They took possession of the palace, from which the king with difficulty escaped; and having set fire to it, Trudo was informed, by the flames, of their success. He then crossed the river with his whole army, and found, what he never could have believed had he not seen it, that all the inhabitants had aban-

doned to the enemy their property, women, children, and gods, without attempting to defend them. The gods were the firſt victims of the king of Dahomey. While plundering the houſes, his troops made a general maſſacre. The chief men of Juida eſcaped with their king to a barren iſland, where the monarch made ſome fruitleſs attempts to recover his throne. The conqueror being already maſter of the kingdom of Ardra, placed that of Juida under the government of a viceroy, and allowed to the inhabitants, whom he permitted to remain in their houſes, the free exerciſe of their ancient religion, their laws, and their cuſtoms. This event took place in the year 1630.

Trudo Audati having never ſeen a white man, beheld with a kind of ſurprize the firſt preſented to him, who was an Engliſh captain found in the town. He was, however, ſoon reconciled to his colour, and took pleaſure in his converſation. The principal object of his queſtions was commerce, of which he had before no idea. When its utility, and the method of carrying it on, were explained to him, he ſhewed a great deſire for putting it in practice. The Engliſhman, like a true merchant, requeſted ſome diminution in the duties; repreſenting to him, that as he was a greater prince than the king of Juida, he hoped he would treat him with more indulgence. The king of Dahomey, a barbarian,

who might have been ſuppoſed incapable of juſtice or politeneſs, replied: "Being a greater "prince, I might reaſonably exact higher du- "ties; but as you are the firſt Engliſh captain I "have ſeen, I will treat you like a new-married "wife, to whom nothing at firſt is refuſed." A Portugueſe meſtizo, rather black than white, who was in the prince's train, related to the Engliſhman ſeveral of Trudo's exploits, which ſeemed to ſhew that in war he was as cunning as valiant. He beſtowed great praiſe alſo on his mildneſs and humanity; and informed him, that if he allowed the uſe of human fleſh it was in order that he might not thwart the taſte of the nation. He added, that he had never ate of it himſelf, but that it was ſold publicly in his camp. The Engliſhman ſaw it expoſed in the ſhambles:—a horrid ſpectacle, which made the hair of the wretched Juidaians ſtand on end, and filled them with the utmoſt terror.

Ardra.

The kingdom of Ardra is much larger than that of Juida, on which it borders; but it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent. The reaſon aſſigned is, that the two ſexes marry at a too early period. The moſt unreſtrained libertiniſm prevails in this country. The grandees are acquainted with the Portugueſe language, which they read and write. Such of the

lower claſſes as can do neither, have ſmall cords on which they make knots; and as each of theſe has a particular ſignification, they can thus communicate their thoughts to a great diſtance. It is aſtoniſhing with what facility they combine and retain the ideas attached to each knot; but it is neceſſary that they ſhould be previouſly acquainted with their meaning. A third perſon cannot underſtand them. Our diplomatic decypherers would be much embarraſſed with ſuch writing. The Ardraians are fond of loading themſelves with clothes on occaſions of ceremony; but in general they leave the upper part of the body bare from the girdle, and both ſexes go entirely naked till they attain to the age of twelve or thirteen. Birth and fortune are both diſregarded in marriages. A man of the loweſt condition may make pretenſions to a woman of the firſt quality. The king's chief ſpouſe, who is always ſhe who has brought forth the firſt male child, is diſtinguiſhed by the title of queen. She has the ſtrange privilege of ſelling the reſt of the king's concubines to ſupply her wants, when the king does not take care to make ſufficient proviſion for that purpoſe. A woman who brings forth twins is diſhonoured; as if it were not poſſible that both the children could belong to the ſame man. Agriculture is held in eſtimation by the people of this country, and is carried on with great activity; but they do

not employ animals. They cultivate the ground with their own hands, without uſing a plough, and it produces more abundantly

The chief prieſt is called *marabou*. He is the ſecond perſon in rank, and the prime-miniſter. Their gods are *fetiches*, highly reſpected; much conſulted and loaded with preſents, which their prieſts cauſe to be brought to them. They believe in one ſupreme god, of whom they have a very imperfect idea; and the ſame is the caſe in regard to the nature of the ſoul, which they make to die with the body, or to paſs into ſome other. The high-prieſt pretends to fortel future events, after he has converſed with a ſtatue of the ſize of a young child, which ſtands in the hall of audience. This ſtatue is white, and repreſents the devil. In every town there is a houſe of education for females, under the inſpection of the marabou. Each lord is obliged to ſend thither his wife, and to let her remain there for ſome time. The principal part of the education conſiſts in learning various kinds of dances. The king's children exerciſe different trades; and apply, in particular, to commerce. When they enter into the military ſtate, they are never advanced to any command; but whatever may be their profeſſion, they are always treated with much reſpect by the people. By the police laws of this country, he who occupies a houſe in which a fire breaks out is puniſhed with death.

Such accidents are, therefore, exceedingly rare. We have already ſeen that the inhabitants of Ardra ſuffered themſelves to be ſubdued by the king of Dahomey. They had been before expoſed to a like danger from a people in the interior part of the country; but were delivered from it by the ſuperſtition of their enemies. This formidable nation was that of the I-oes, whoſe chief fetiche is the ſea, which they are prohibited by their prieſts from either approaching or ſeeing. The people of Ardra ſecured themſelves from a total invaſion by retiring to the coaſts.

European Settlements.

All the ſlave coaſt is interſperſed with ſettlements and forts belonging to the Portugueſe, French, Engliſh, Dutch, Danes, and other nations; but it may be ſaid that they are cemented with blood, ſince ſo much of it has been ſhed by the blacks on the one ſide, who at different times have revolted againſt the uſurpers, and by the white men on the other, who, through commercial jealouſy, have been engaged in wars among themſelves. It would appear that the Europeans, when they land on theſe coaſts, aſſume the ferocity of the country. They no longer retain reſpect for each other, nor compaſſion for the unhappy negroes. They not only familiarize themſelves with buying, ſelling,

and examining them like beaſts, but they even brand marks on them with their own hands; tear the child from the mother, and the wife from her huſband, without being affected by their lamentable cries; crowd them together in ſhips, attached by a chain to the bench which ſerves them as a bed, where they are condemned to reſpire air rendered infectious by their breath, except during a few hours of the day, and ſometimes only once in two days, when they are permitted to quit the gloomy hold, to enjoy a ſhort view of the ſun. Some Europeans, leſs hardened, and particularly thoſe who make the voyage for the firſt time, confeſs that they cannot help being melted into tears at the moment when theſe unhappy victims of European avarice quit the ſhores of the country which gave them birth. The ſoul is penetrated by their ſighs and lamentations, their reluctance to quit their native land, and their emotions of grief on ſeparating from their friends. Their deſpair is the more violent, as they depart in full perſuaſion that they are carried away to be butchered and devoured. Unfortunate beings! death would be preferable to the fate which awaits them in the colonies. Will means never be deviſed to aboliſh ſo infamous a traffic?

The miſunderſtanding among the Europeans, and their quarrels, followed by deſtructive wars, have avenged in ſome meaſure, and ſtill avenge,

the Africans for the bad treatment they have experienced from the whites. When they arrive on theſe coaſts, they ſeem to vie with each other in perfidy and cruelty. It is not neceſſary that they ſhould be at war in Europe to make them lay ſnares for each other, and carry on bloody wars in Africa:—competition is a ſufficient motive for jealouſy. They excite that of the blacks againſt their rivals in induſtry, and give vent to their malice by actions unknown to theſe barbarous tribes. To what crimes are not men incited by the inſatiable thirſt of gold! To tear it from thoſe who covet it as much as themſelves, nation againſt nation, the Portugueſe, French, Engliſh and Dutch, excite the wretched blacks, the inſtruments of their avarice; and, by calumnies and maſſacres, render them, if they can, irreconcilable enemies to their competitors. If the Engliſh ſee the Dutch about to eſtabliſh an advantageous correſpondence with a nation rich in gold and ivory, they aſſaſſinate a few women belonging to it; and, with great art, throw the odium of the atrocity on the Dutch. The nation, too credulous, immediately quarrels with them, and the Engliſh profit by the rupture. Hence that deliberate hatred which calculates, with mercantile nicety, what may be gained by the ruin or death of a commercial rival, and which ſtifles every ſentiment of humanity. Some Engliſhmen, in a ſmall veſſel, being overtaken

by a ſtorm within hail of a Dutch ſhip, which was in a better ſtate to withſtand the fury of the elements, requeſted aſſiſtance; but the Dutch captain replied coolly: "Do you imagine that "we are much intereſted in your ſituation?" "But we are about to periſh!" "Periſh," returned the Dutchman, "and may God have "mercy on your ſouls."

The French boaſt of having firſt diſcovered the coaſt of Guinea, and the firſt returns from that country were, it is ſaid, brought to Dieppe. The inhabitants manufactured from their ivory a number of trinkets and toys, which gained them a reputation they ſtill enjoy. The Portugueſe, however, diſpute with them the priority; and it appears that both nations touched on the coaſt almoſt at the ſame time, about the middle of the fifteenth century. The Dutch did not go thither till towards the end of the ſixteenth century, a hundred and fifty years later; and the Engliſh arrived there nearly about the ſame period. This coaſt is ſo extenſive that the Europeans in ſharing it had no occaſion to entertain any deſtructive jealouſy; but commerce is like ambition, and never knows where to ſtop. But this competition has been of ſome uſe to the negroes; it has made them acquainted with the price of European merchandize, which muſt have remained unknown to them; and they have by theſe means acquired a profit, which if

it has not rendered them opulent, has at leaſt made them comfortable.

It is doing too much honour to theſe petty ſtates to call them kingdoms, and to give the appellation of kings to their chiefs: ſeveral of them, however, aſſume that title. Axim is called a kingdom, but Ante only a country. In the like manner, we are told of the kingdoms of Commendo and Fetu, the country of Saboo, the kingdom of Fantin, Aquamboo, and many others, the monarchs of which conſider themſelves as elegantly dreſſed, if, when they give audience to the Europeans, they can put on, without a ſhirt or veſt, a ſcarlet coat, which they have received as a preſent, and cover their woolly hair with a gold-laced hat. We are told likewiſe of a queen of Angonna, a country governed by a woman: this princeſs poſſeſſed a great and magnanimous ſoul, with much courage and prudence. She never would marry, that ſhe might reſerve her authority undivided; but ſhe kept a young ſlave, who, under pain of death, was obliged to confine his ſervices to her alone. She, however, changed him with great modeſty, in order that ſhe might have only one at a time. It is computed that more than ſeven thouſand pounds of gold are imported to Europe every year from Guinea. The Portugueſe have no longer any ſettlements in that country, but they ſtill trade thither. Thoſe of the

French are far inferior to the Engliſh and Dutch ſettlements, but they are ſufficient to ſupply their Weſt-India iſlands with ſlaves.

Particularities of the Gold Coast.

The inhabitants of the gold coaſt, if we can believe travellers, are addicted to every vice: they are cunning and deceitful; diſſemblers, flatterers, thieves, gluttons, and drunkards; avaricious and incontinent to exceſs. They are ſo much the more dangerous with theſe qualities as they are ingenious, have a ready conception, and an excellent memory. Every thing might be apprehended from ſuch an aſſemblage, were it not corrected by indolence, lazineſs, and a paſſion for ſinging and dancing. When engaged in their amuſements, if any one came to tell them that the whole country was on fire, they would reply, "Let it burn." Both ſexes are handſome and well made. The woman have become fond of dreſs only ſince they were firſt viſited by the Europeans; they are addicted to gallantry, and very enticing in their behaviour; they ſeldom loſe their labour, and their huſbands by a ſhameful tolerance encourage their amours, which they find profitable, but they puniſh adultery among themſelves. All the negroes uſe frequent ablutions, and attend much to the cleanlineſs of their perſons. This coaſt abounds unfortunately with meſtizos, in

conſequence of the libertiniſm of the whites with the female negroes; in regard to vice they are the refuſe of both races. Their equivocal colour, which inclines to yellow ſpotted with black and white, renders their appearance horrid when they grow old.

The negroes do not attain to a great age. Potatoes, yams, putrid fiſh, and a few handfuls of maize, reduced to a kind of paſte with palm-oil, form their uſual food. On ſolemn occaſions they kill an ox or a ſheep, and alſo poultry. If they eat little, they drink a great deal of palm-wine and brandy. The women, who are as fond of theſe liquors as the men, make abundant uſe of them, and even accuſtom their children to them. The moſt important of theſe occaſions, when great ſlaughter is made among their cattle and poultry, are their marriages, the ceremonies of which however are exceedingly ſimple. When a young man conceives an affection for a young woman he aſks her conſent, and if ſhe refuſes her father obliges her to comply. A feſtival is then celebrated, and the bride receives a new dreſs, and enters among the other wives, who are always very numerous, and enjoy rank according to their riches.

Among the opulent claſs two of the principal ones are exempted from labour. The firſt is ſhe who appears to be the oldeſt, or the mother of the firſt born: the ſecond, named *boſſum*, is conſe-

crated to the domeſtic idol, and is generally a beautiful ſlave; beſides the privilege of doing nothing, the huſband is obliged to give her one night every week; but through old age or caprice ſhe may be reduced to the rank of the reſt. The girls are exceedingly free in their conduct, and the boys, when they have ſcarcely got beyond the age of infancy, are remarkably petulant. But notwithſtanding this facility, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be in every village one or more *abelecres*, or public women; when they cannot be found the young men apply to the old ones, who procure them. They are inſtructed by the matrons, and form a public treaſure of more value than riches. When the Europeans have been robbed, they ſometimes carry away the *abelecres* as hoſtages. The whole village then riſes up againſt the criminal, and the ſtolen goods are reſtored. Pregnant women are highly reſpected; they bring forth with great eaſe, and the nature of the climate renders unneceſſary the precautions employed by the women in Europe. Circumciſion is practiſed. At firſt children receive only three names;—that of the day of their birth, that of the father or mother, and that of the grand-father or grand-mother, according to their ſex: but this triple nomenclature may be increaſed to infinity, in regard to the men, by their qualities or noble actions, which become ſo many ſurnames that form a liſt extremely dif-

ficult to be remembered. As their ſucceſſions are not direct, they appear to the Europeans ſo confuſed as to be entirely incomprehenſible, but the negroes can explain them with wonderful eaſe. The ceremonies which they uſe in ſalutation when they meet or viſit each other, would alſo be a laborious ſtudy to the former, were they obliged to employ them. Great men never approach each other till after two hours ſpent in receiving and anſwering meſſages by their ſervants; the caſe is the ſame when they take leave, and the meſſages are not ended even when they have loſt ſight of each other. Nothing can be ſo lively as their markets and fairs; if the ſound of a muſical inſtrument is heard, all trade and buſineſs gives way to the muſic. The women liſten with attention, while their eyes ſparkle with pleaſure; the men excited to joy begin to move their limbs with great agility, and in a little time the whole aſſembly are in motion, capering through each other, and they continue in this manner all the way till they get home. Every day at ſun-ſet there is in each village a ruſtic ball. Their dancing, on the firſt view, appears to be merely ſtamping with the feet, accompanied with contortions of the limbs, and a hollow murmuring noiſe or ſhouts. The performers advance in two bands, intermix with each other, and recede, beat the ground with their feet, hang down their heads, and pronounce a few words as they paſs. Their

movements are ſometimes quick and ſometimes ſlow, but exhibit a kind of diſorder, which, however, is not deſtitute of method, as it is renewed with the moſt perfect imitation. With theſe gambols they ſeem highly delighted, but they are not fond of indulging in them before ſtrangers.

In regard to the prieſts of the *fetiches*, their authority over the negroes, whether ſick or in health; their cunning; their method of making ſuperſtition take deep root in the mind, and of enriching themſelves at the expenſe of their credulous devotees; together with the fetiches themſelves, the power aſcribed to them, the reſpect paid to them, and their religious rights; have all ſuch a reſemblance to what has been already ſaid, that it is unneceſſary to dwell longer on the ſubject. Some believe in God alone, and ſome believe in the exiſtence of a god and a devil. In regard to the former, they do not think it neceſſary to worſhip the deity, for they ſay, what obligation are they under to him? what has he done for them? are they not forced to cultivate the ground in order to procure maize and potatoes? to plant trees, if they wiſh to have fruit? to make nets, if they wiſh to eat fiſh? whereas the Europeans have all theſe without putting themſelves to much trouble; and, what is ſtill more, they imagine that the Europeans find ready made all the utenſils and toys which they bring to their country, and

that they have nothing to do but to collect them. "Let the Europeans then," say they, "adore a "god who is so good to them; for us, we offer "presents to the devil alone, because he can do "us injury." There are places, however, where they are not afraid of offending him, and where they drive him from their villages with a loud noise. During the eight days which precede this expulsion, they are permitted to indulge in satire, and men, women, and children, are at liberty to say all the ill they know of each other, and to make known in their songs each other's frauds and villanies. Those who fear these discoveries are, in general, the rich and powerful, who have no other means of preventing them than by supplying the people with strong liquors, and their invectives are then changed into panegyric.

The whole kingdom is governed by the monarch, but each village has a chief named *caboceros*, who, under his authority, is charged to maintain good order, to prevent and put an end to quarrels, and to cause the police to be respected. The rich form themselves into a class, who may be considered as the nobility of the country; and by their liberalities, presents, and entertainments, to the people, they obtain the right of having several trumpets sounded before them, and two bucklers carried in triumph throughout the whole village, amidst the sound

of muſical inſtruments, preceded by their wives, who dance, ſing, and ſend forth ſhouts of joy. Theſe nobility enter into a kind of brotherhood, and aſſemble, at certain fixed periods, to enjoy a feaſt. When theſe days of ceremony are ended, they return to the claſs of the people. Even the king's themſelves do not deviate much from it, and they readily appear in public to converſe with their ſubjects. They pour out palm wine or brandy, which they preſent to the populace in a gourd, and when they have drunk they become exceedingly familiar; but of whatever kind this dignity may be, it occaſions war and diſputes here as in other countries.

Ivory Coast.

The inhabitants of the Ivory Coaſt are leſs hoſpitable than thoſe of the Gold Coaſt. They are exceedingly ſuſpicious of ſtrangers, and the latter in their turn dread them as a deceitful, ſavage people; it is even believed that they are cannibals. When they conceive a fondneſs for any thing, and it is not given to them, or if they are not allowed to take it, they ſeem highly diſpleaſed. It is very aſtoniſhing that it has never yet been aſcertained whether the elephants' teeth are procured by the death of the animal, or whether it caſts them every year, as the ſtag does its horns. The latter is the moſt probable, becauſe elephants' teeth are often

found in thoſe countries which the animal frequents, even when there is no appearance of the carcaſe in the neighbourhood; beſides, what a number of them muſt die to give the quantity of ivory which this coaſt furniſhes! On account of this abundance, it is called the *Teeth Coaſt.* Some aſſert that ten thouſand pounds weight of it are ſold in one day; but we ought undoubtedly to underſtand here a whole year.

As the inhabitants of this country reſide near a ſtormy and deep ſea, they are good ſwimmers and excellent divers. There is a kingdom here named Guiomera, which in 1723 was governed by a king, called Afamouchon. A chevalier Damon found means to give him a taſte for the French manners, and was ſo well treated by him as to excite the jealouſy of the Engliſh. In this part of Africa there are ſerpents thirty-ſix feet in length, which ſwallow men entire. It is ſubject to furious tempeſts, dreadful ſtorms of thunder, prodigious falls of rain, and hurricanes which overturn every thing, and which are followed by calm and ſerene weather. If a compariſon can be made between things totally different, we might ſay that the character of the inhabitants reſembles their climate;—mild and pacific at one time, and the next moment iraſcible and worked up into a paſſion, ſo as to be ready to maſſacre all thoſe who fall in their way.

Certain contraſts are found alſo in their manners, the purity of which has been praiſed by ſome travellers, while others ſay that they are void of modeſty, and live under no reſtraint; and, that nothing may be wanting to complete the contraſt, the women, we are told, except in regard to colour, would be conſidered in Europe as beauties, on account of their regular features, animated looks, and fine delicate ſhape, while the men are coarſe, ſtupid, and dull. But it is to be obſerved, that there are few nations on this coaſt, reſpecting whom contradictory accounts are not given by travellers.

The negroes are great admirers of our curioſities, trinkets, and locks, but particularly our watches. They are however ſtill more aſtoniſhed at our art of making paper ſpeak, as they expreſs it, which to them is a prodigy. If they are diſpatched with a letter, the contents of which have been communicated to them, they cannot be perſuaded that the fantaſtical figures inſcribed on it are able to convey to the reader the thoughts of an abſent perſon, though they ſee it by experience. They ſometimes aſk it ironically what it contains, as if they meant to ſurprize it in a fault; and their aſtoniſhment is inexpreſſible when they are told what the ſubject of it is: they can form no idea of writing, and imagine that the white men have a familiar demon by whom they are inſtructed on theſe

occaſions. This opinion, which is ſomewhat ſimilar to that of the natives of the Gold Coaſt, who believe that every thing brought to them by the Europeans is produced ſpontaneouſly, without any pains or trouble on their part, renders the negroes like our children, or certain inhabitants of our great cities, whoſe credulity is often abuſed.

Coast of Malaguetta.

Malaguetta is a certain kind of pepper, inferior to that of Aſia, which was ſome time in vogue, though it is little ſought after at preſent. It was on this coaſt that the French firſt carried on trade; traces of their reſidence here ſtill exiſt, in the name of a village called Paris, and in the memories of the inhabitants, who have had French ſurnames hereditary in their families for more than a century. They taught them alſo to aſſume the names of ſaints, ſuch as Peter, Paul, John, and Andrew. A pretty ample deſcription of their cuſtoms has been given by different travellers; but it is not known how they could acquire ſuch minute information, ſince they confeſs that they were not acquainted with their language, and that it is impoſſible to learn it. I ſhall content myſelf, therefore, with what could be gathered from obſervation. The natives are tall and well made; they have leſs covering to their bodies than any other people

on the coaſt; and are fond of preſents, which they call *datis*, and which they aſk with importunity. Their prieſts are called *marabous*. The principal wife is interred with her huſband. They have among them mulattoes, deſcended from the Portugueſe, who carry on a great trade in the interior part of the country; and who would render it much more extenſive were they regularly ſupplied with European goods. The king reſides on the river Seſtos, which is navigable for ſhips.

Sierra Leona.

The country of Sierra Leona was ſo called by the Portugueſe, on account of its mountains filled with lions. It poſſeſſes all the beauties which, in a warm country, can ariſe from groves, foreſts, and caſcades. The inhabitants are not unworthy of ſuch a delightful reſidence. They are mild, ſociable, and obliging; not at all ſelf-intereſted, and exceedingly induſtrious. The women take delight in acting the fetiche; that is to ſay, in exhibiting themſelves in a certain dreſs, as if conſecrated, to attract the notice of the men. Their principal ornament on theſe occaſions is a very delicate ſtripe, made with red or yellow varniſh, around the forehead. They form circles alſo, in the ſame manner, around their arms and body. The negroes are highly delighted with this whimſical ornament.

In ſpeaking of dreſs, I muſt not omit that of their advocates or defenders of law-ſuits. They wear a maſk on the viſage; have caſtanets in their hands and bells on their legs; and all theſe are for the purpoſe of keeping alive the attention of the judges. This mode might not be altogether uſeleſs in Europe. The women likewiſe wear on their legs bells of copper or ſilver, which make a pretty agreeable harmony when they dance. Being paſſionately fond of this exerciſe, they imitate, with great pleaſure, the European dances. They are more modeſt and more reſerved than the other women of the country: but in regard to the men, ſome ſay they are jealous, and others praiſe them for their condeſcenſion. Chriſtianity has been known here formerly; but, at preſent, it ſeems to be forgotten, and all the negroes, from the king downwards, wear amulets, and other badges of ſuperſtition.

Monou, Quoja, Hondo, Mandingo, Fouli, Jalof, &c.

There are ſtill a great many other nations in Guinea, ſome of which lie a great way up the country, and have no direct intercourſe with the coaſt. Others are connected with the ſea only by a ſmall tongue of land, and therefore are very little known to the Europeans. The obſcure accounts given by the natives of theſe countries, make us acquainted with the names of kingdoms,

the extent and even poſition of which are very uncertain. Such is the empire of Monou, the kingdoms of Quoja, Hondo, Mandingo, Fouli, Jalof, and ſeveral others. Theſe people have related many things, in regard to their manners and cuſtoms, which are ſimilar to thoſe already known; but one thing peculiar to them, if true, is what is ſaid reſpecting their ſocial diſpoſition. The following portrait does honour to theſe people too much degraded by prejudice.

They are milder and more moderate, it is ſaid, than the negroes on the coaſt, and ſeem to hold a mean rank between the latter and the inhabitants of Dahomey, the Jagas, and other ferocious tribes in the interior parts. They are not fond of ſhedding human blood; nor does ambition kindle up among them the flames of war. They never engage in it but through neceſſity, and for their own defence. They live in the greateſt harmony; are always ready to aſſiſt each other, and to give their friends, when in need, part of their clothes and proviſions, and even to anticipate their wants by voluntary preſents. On account of this flattering picture, ſome authors ſay that the travellers from whom it is taken were deſirous of exhibiting to us a new utopia, and by this reflexion they raiſe unſurmountable doubts reſpecting theſe perfections, which are therefore conſidered as merely imaginary. What is aſſerted, in particular, of their circumſpection in un-

dertaking war, is contradicted by the avowal that there are conquerors among them; that they ſend many ſlaves to be ſold on the coaſt; that each nation is dependent on the other, and that the commerce between them is not free. All theſe muſt be owing to force; and conſequently to wars of ambition and intereſt.

As little purity prevails among the manners of the people; for both the men and the women are equally devoted to ſenſual pleaſures. The latter employ philtres and potions, made of herbs, to invigorate their huſbands. The education given among the Quojas to young boys and girls, in ſchools eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe, may be claſſed among their libidinous incitements. Young perſons indeed are taught to hunt, to fiſh, and to handle arms; but particularly dances, accompanied with immodeſt geſtures, and ſongs compoſed of expreſſions ſuited to them. The inſtruction given to girls is founded on obſcenity alſo. Thoſe of both ſexes who receive an education of this kind form a ſort of powerful ſociety, of which the king is the head. The high-prieſt prepares a compoſition called *belli*, which he ſhews to the people as ſomething ſacred. It has no certain figure. The *bellimo*, or high-prieſt, gives it one at pleaſure; but whatever may be its form, the people are obliged to ſhew it the utmoſt reſpect, and thoſe who fail to do ſo experience the ſevereſt chaſtiſement.

from the *belli*. The belli, however, before he can puniſh muſt have the king's conſent; without which his power is of no avail. This is a political reſtriction very remarkable.

The Quojas have alſo a great veneration for the *jannanins*, who are the ſpirits of their deceaſed relations. They believe that they are always hovering around them; and that on important occaſions they give ſenſible ſigns of their preſence. When a woman is accuſed of adultery, by the depoſition of her huſband, ſhe is declared innocent upon her own oath; but, after taking the oath, if proofs are adduced againſt her, ſhe is conducted in the evening to the public ſquare, where the council is aſſembled to try her. The *jannanins* are firſt invoked, and the woman's eyes are covered with a bandage, in order that ſhe may not ſee the ſpirits who are ready to carry her off. When ſhe has thus been left ſome time in a ſtate of apprehenſion reſpecting her fate, an old member of the council repreſents to her how ſhameful her conduct has been, and threatens her with ſevere puniſhment. If, after this harangue, ſhe ſhews ſigns of contrition, ſhe is made to hear a confuſed noiſe of voices, which it is pretended are thoſe of the *jannanins*, who declare that her crime, though deſerving rigorous puniſhment, is forgiven, becauſe it is the firſt offence. The ſame voices impoſe on her ſome faſts and other mortifications. It is recommended to her to live

with ſo much chaſtity, that ſhe may not even take a male child in her arms, or touch the dreſs of a man. If ſhe relapſe into libertiniſm, and the fact be proved, the high-prieſt, accompanied by the whole ſociety of the belli, repair with a loud clamour to the houſe of her huſband, where they ſeize her; and, amidſt hooting, carry her round the town. She is then conducted, with the ſame eſcort, to the foreſt conſecrated to the *jannanins*, whoſe voices are no longer heard. In order that the power of the *jannanins* may continue to be dreaded by the women, it is no doubt neceſſary to remove them from the council in which theſe ſpirits are ſuppoſed to be preſent. We may, therefore, believe that it is the male brotherhood alone of the belli who compoſe it.

Negroes of the interior Parts of Africa.

The dreſs of the negroes in the interior parts conſiſts of a kind of ſurplice or large ſhirt. I here ſpeak of the rich; for the reſt go almoſt naked. They make only one meal a day in the evening; but more on account of their health than through temperance. To eat freely in ſuch a warm climate is dangerous. They generally drink water, or a little palm-wine; but they are all remarkably fond of brandy. In one canton, a ſuitor goes in great pomp to conduct his future

ſpouſe home; but in another he is obliged to carry her off by ſtealth. In ſome diſtricts he is fond of meeting with a virgin; in others, is entirely indifferent on the ſubject. In one place, he ſhews her great marks of affection and reſpect, when he receives her into his houſe; in another he commands her, in a harſh manner, to go and fetch water, and other things neceſſary in the family, in order that he may accuſtom her to obedience. No wife ever eats with her huſband; not even ſhe who is called his *ſpouſe at hand*, becauſe ſhe is always near him, and miſtreſs of the reſt. It is not known in what manner ſhe acquires this ſuperiority. The women ſoon come to maturity; but they almoſt ceaſe to have children about the time that the women in Europe begin. All the laborious part of the domeſtic economy is conſigned to them. They chooſe rather to expoſe themſelves to be ſold as ſlaves, by favouring a lover, than to remain with a huſband for whom they entertain no affection. They indulge the white men in great privileges, which are allowed by their huſbands. They ſhew great tenderneſs for their children: the boys are ſuffered to do what they pleaſe—they are deſtined to idleneſs; but the girls being born to labour, are accuſtomed to it from their infancy. Their funerals, as in other countries, are accompanied with cries and lamentations; and even women, who have no great cauſe to be ſad, are

the foremoſt to diſtinguiſh themſelves in theſe melancholy ſcenes. On theſe occaſions a great deal is conſumed in eating and drinking. Dancing and ſinging form a part of all their ceremonies, and even when they pay viſits. Their muſicians and poets are *improviſatori*; and like our's celebrate the praiſes of thoſe who pay them: people who have no other profeſſion are called *guriots*, or *juddies*; and one of them is kept in the pay of every great man. The languages of the negroes, in general, are ſoft, flowing, and harmonious; but they are poor and deſtitute of energy. Their language uſed in commerce, and in their intercourſe with other nations, which extends from the African coaſts of the ocean to the interior parts of the country, and even to India, is corrupted Portugueſe:—an inconteſtable proof of the empire which that nation has in this immenſe country. The Arabic begins to be ſpoken towards the ſhore of the Gambia and the Senegal. It is the language of the learned and polite part of the inhabitants, whoſe religion is mahometaniſm. They have workmen of all kinds, good and bad. The beſt and moſt lucrative trade is that of the *ſepateros*, who make amulets, and the ſmall boxes which contain them. No one ever diſputes reſpecting the price of theſe articles: not to give what is aſked would be treating with contempt every thing reſpectable in the charm. They build in a very irregular manner, and without taſte, at leaſt according to the European

way of thinking; but this method ſuits them, becauſe they are fond of ſinuoſities and windings. Their fields are often laid waſte by clouds of locuſts; and this ſcourge, added to indolence, a ſcourge more common, occaſions moſt dreadful famines.

The negro armies are never embarraſſed by large convoys of proviſions and ammunition. Each ſoldier carries his own proviſions, and ſometimes a quantity ſufficient to ſerve him during the whole time of the expedition. Their arms are bows and arrows, pikes, javelins, muſkets, and bucklers. They manage their horſes with ſingular dexterity; but all their addreſs forſakes them in the field of battle, and only enables them to fly with more ſpeed. In general, they are bad ſoldiers and bad mahometans. When they profeſs that religion, they combine with the muſſulman practices a number of ſuperſtitions, among which is that of the *griſgris*, a kind of amulets, conſiſting ſometimes of toys conſecrated by expreſſions in the Koran; and ſometimes of paſſages from that book, written upon parchment, and incloſed in boxes ſold to them by the *ſepateros*. They ſuſpend them around the neck; from their hair, ears, arms, and legs, and from every part of the body, where they believe, according to the indication of the marabou, that they will be moſt uſeful.

The marabous, of whom I have already ſpoken, form alſo among the negroes in the

interior parts a numerous body, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people, not by their dreſs, which is very little different, but by their manner of life. They affect a great deal of gravity and regularity; and have particular towns and diſtricts of land belonging to their tribe, where they admit no other negroes but their ſlaves. They form no alliances but among themſelves. All their male children are educated for the ſervice of their country. In many points they adhere to the law contained in Leviticus; a book which they reſpect moſt next to the Koran: but it is allowed that their uſages are a profound myſtery to the people. A traveller, who is ſuſpected of being too much prejudiced in their favour, ſays, that the marabous are faithful obſervers of the muſſulman laws, and particularly in regard to temperance; that they abſtain from wine and ſpirituous liquors; and that their probity and honeſty in commerce and buſineſs are generally known. Charity is a virtue in which they are never deficient towards each other; and they never ſuffer one of their number to be ſold unleſs he has deſerved it by ſome great crime.

They have ſchools open for the reception of all children, whom they wiſh to be inſtructed in reading and writing; but there are private ones for their own. Beſides reading and writing,

they inſtruct them in the Koran and the principles of the levitical law. They are made acquainted alſo with the nature of the ſociety of the marabous, and their connection with the ſtate, though they form a ſeparate body. They are inſpired with an inviolable attachment to the intereſts of the ſociety, and are accuſtomed to ſilence and modeſty in their words as well as actions. They are taught alſo the principles of morality, at leaſt ſo far as they concern the benefit of the ſociety and may be the means of procuring them the reſpect of the people. The marabous, indeed, do not loſe their labour; for they are followed and preceded by veneration even in the palaces of their kings. No-where do they experience a refuſal or contradiction; and during the moſt bloody wars they are at liberty to go from one kingdom to another. They may then be ſeen freely traverſing the different countries with their families and their books to teach religion and wiſdom. They generally preach by example; and their laws are written in a peculiar language different from the vulgar, which none but themſelves underſtand. When they travel they live, as ſome ſay, upon alms; but according to others by trade and the ſale of their amulets. It is, however, probable that they employ all theſe means of ſubſiſtence. It is not ſaid that they have a chief and a hierarchy. It would be

difficult for a body to exiſt without government; and for a government to be carried on without a gradation of powers.

Gambia, Goree, Senegal, Zaara, Biledulgerid.

Gambia and Senegal are two large rivers, which flow through an immenſe extent of country. The Senegal is the ſame as the Niger. The Europeans have proceeded up theſe rivers as far as they could, both to make themſelves acquainted with the nations who inhabit their banks, and to diſcover the gold mines ſaid to be ſituated on the mountains in which they have their ſources. Goree is an iſland between the mouths of theſe two rivers. It is advantageouſly ſituated for the commerce carried on by their means; and ſerves as a magazine for the goods conveyed down them from the interior parts of Africa, and for thoſe which are carried thither from Europe. Zaara is a deſert, the borders of which are inhabited by Mooriſh tribes, who paſs it in caravans, and thus eſtabliſh a communication between the negroes of Guinea and the ſtates of Morocco. Biledulgerid extends a great way, and runs behind Tunis and Tripoli.

On the Gambia, there are many of thoſe Portugueſe meſtizos of whom I have already ſpoken. The following account is given of them by a French factor, who went to pay them a viſit of

ceremony. "They were clothed," ſays he, "in "black, and had large clokes, which were raiſed "up behind by their long ſwords. They all "had poniards, and a large and long chapelet "in the left hand, which reſted on the hilt of "their ſword; large broad-brimmed hats, and "long muſtaches." The gravity of their compliments was ſuited to that of their countenances. The object of them remarks, that the women had their mouths full of water to prevent them, as he was told, from neglecting their labour by prattling. The chief article of the commerce carried on by theſe two rivers—next to gold, ivory, and ſlaves—is gum, ſo neceſſary for the European manufactures, and particularly thoſe of ſilk. The French procure a great deal of it by the Senegal. They are maſters of the iſland of Goree, and have uſeful ſettlements on both rivers. The Engliſh and Dutch are no leſs powerful in the country; but they all employ the treacherous policy of fomenting wars between the petty kings on the banks of theſe rivers, in order that their markets may be better ſupplied with ſlaves.

A part of the deſert of Zaara is inhabited by wandering hordes, among whom are three mooriſh tribes, who have no ſovereigns. The richeſt man among them is the moſt reſpected, and acknowledged as the chief of the republic. They are brave, and enured to fatigue. Though

mahometans, it would be impoſſible to make them undertake a journey to Mecca, becauſe nothing could be gained by it; but they penetrate, without heſitation, to the centre of Africa, where they find gold. They are ſure that theſe will not prove fruitleſs expeditions; becauſe, if in return for the ſalt, ſtuffs, and inſtruments of iron, which they carry thither, they do not procure gold, ivory, muſk, bezoar, and oſtrich feathers, they carry off the negroes with whom they go to traffic, and ſell them to the Europeans or the Moors of Fez and Morocco. They are much addicted to the chace; and are not intimidated by lions, panthers, and the moſt ferocious animals. On their Barbary horſes, they run down the oſtrich, which at firſt outſtrips their fleeteſt courſers; but it at length grows fatigued. Though purſued by two men, the oſtrich of the deſerts can never be caught, till overcome by laſſitude. It carries its head as high as the largeſt horſe, and extends its wings to the wind. When it holds them motionleſs they ſerve it as ſails; and when moved they as it were ſupply the place of oars.

It is not properly aſcertained whether theſe people be Moors or Arabs; but it may be ſaid, that, by living together they partake of both: the Moor has become an Arab, and the Arab a Moor: their manners and uſages have, therefore, been confounded together. There is alſo

a race called the Bereberes, who are believed to be older in the country than the Moors. The women begin here to be reſerved and modeſt. There are no nudities among them, as they are always clothed, and never appear without veils: ſome of them are even too much loaded with dreſs for ſo hot a climate. The inhabitants are diſperſed in villages, called *adouars;* and are merely camps, which do not long remain in one place. When they remove their camp, they ſhut up their grain in a kind of wells, cut out in the rock, called *matamores*, which have narrow mouths, and become wider the deeper they proceed. In proportion as they fill them, they line them with ſtraw; and in this manner the grain may be preſerved a long time: when they have cloſed the mouth they cultivate the earth over them and ſow it with corn.

Mothers have for their children a tenderneſs which renders them attentive to their wants, and exceedingly careful to preſerve them from every thing that may hurt them. They do not admit perſons of every kind near them; as they are perſuaded that there are ſome whoſe look alone is ſufficient to kill, or to throw into a ſtate of debility, thoſe children on whom they fix their malignant eyes. Being ſhepherds and wanderers, they are pretty well acquainted with the heavenly bodies; but, in other reſpects, they are very ignorant. They are excellent for running

or for ſudden attacks; but are bad ſoldiers in a regular army. Their deſerts are expoſed to dreadful hurricanes, which raiſe the ſand in ſuch a manner that they are often buried under it; but as they are acquainted with the ſeaſons when theſe diſaſters happen, they take care not to expoſe themſelves to them.

There are ſome iſlands in the neighbourhood of the river Gambia. Reſpecting that of Biſſao we are told the following particulars. The inhabitants, both men and women, wear two large iron rings, which, inſtead of ſtones, have broad plates of the ſame metal, and are employed as caſtanets. By ſtriking them againſt each other they can communicate their wiſhes to their friends, without being underſtood by thoſe who are not initiated in that mode of expreſſion. This is a language for the ears; as a certain arrangement and diſpoſition of flowers are in the ſeraglios a language for the eyes. In this iſland the ſovereign may eaſily acquire riches. An individual makes him a preſent of his neighbour's houſe; the neighbour does not fail to ſerve him in the ſame manner; the king takes poſſeſſion of them, and they muſt then either repurchaſe them or build others. When the king dies, four of his principal lords bear the body, in ceremony, to the place of interment; and as ſoon as they have reached it, they raiſe the coffin in the air, and, holding it in that

poſition, give it ſeveral ſhakes, and then let it fall on the grandees, who are proſtrated at their feet. He on whom the coffin falls, if he is not cruſhed, is acknowledged as king.

Biledulgerid means the Country of Dates, which are found here in great abundance. It may be called an aſſemblage of deſerts, all contiguous to each other. The inhabitants in general partake of the nature of the ſoil, and are dry, brown, and meagre: though they live in a climate which is ſtill warmer than that of the negroes they are not black. No part of the country is habitually peopled; but the borders of the large rivers, and ſome of the mountains which give riſe to ſtreams that ſoon loſe themſelves in the ſand. The plains are deſtitute of water; and there are ſome of them in which no wells are found but at the diſtance of thirty leagues. The inhabitants guide themſelves thither by the ſtars or a compaſs. Experience has taught them that ſome birds fly to a determinate diſtance from certain points; and their preſence or abſence ſerves them as a direction. The ancients were acquainted with the country on the frontiers of Biledulgerid towards Tripoli, which they called Mauritania. Some of their monuments are ſtill ſeen, and ſome remains of the cities which they built. On the oppoſite ſide, Biledulgerid extends, towards Nigritia, to an immenſe diſtance. This was the country of the

Getulians, and the Garamantes, the anceſtors of the Numidians, who, for a long time, maintained the honour of Africa againſt the Romans.

BARBARY.

Barbary, comprehending all the coaſt from Egypt to the Strait of Gibraltar.

All that coaſt of the Mediterranean from Egypt to the other ſide of the Strait of Gibraltar, including a greater or leſs depth on the Atlantic Ocean, is called Barbary, probably from *bar*, which ſignifies a deſert; and hence thoſe who were the firſt inhabitants aſſumed the name of *Barbares*, or *Berberes*, which they ſtill retain. The cantons next to Egypt are expoſed to exceſſive and almoſt continual heat. Towards Mount Atlas the cold is pretty ſevere; but the intermediate diſtricts enjoy a more moderate temperature, and are alſo the moſt fertile part of the country. The advantageous ſituation of Barbary induced the Romans, the Greeks, the Saracens, the Vandals, the Arabs, and the Moors, to render themſelves ſucceſſively maſters of it. At preſent, it is ſubject to the dominion of the grand-ſeignior, not ſo much under the title of poſſeſſion, as of protection, for which it pays a ſmall tribute. The Turkiſh militia exerciſe abſolute authority over all the inhabitants, who tremble at the bare ſight of a Turkiſh ſoldier; but, whether Moors, Arabs, or Bereberes, they all bear the yoke with wonderful ſubmiſſion:

obliged to conceal their riches, if they have any; and to live poorly, and even then uncertain whether their obſcurity will ſecure them from the violence of their tyrants. The Bereberes, in particular, are a model of patience. This virtue muſt be natural to them, as they have no word in their language to expreſs either murmuring or revolt; or it ariſes from their reſignation to the decrees of Providence, whom they never fail to recal to the remembrance of the chriſtian captives, when they hear them, in their deſpair, break out in complaints and imprecations.

The maſters moſt to be dreaded by theſe unhappy wretches are the renegadoes; who, either through intereſt, or to break their chains, have abjured the chriſtian faith. To make the mahometans believe that they are really converted, they affect to behave with harſhneſs to the chriſtian captives, and even to thoſe of their own nation, whom they often treat more cruelly than the reſt: but this conduct is of no avail; for they are abhorred, deſpiſed, and ſuſpected even by thoſe who excited them to apoſtacy. However, as they are, for the moſt part, men of ſome talents, they either enrich themſelves by trade, or get promoted in the militia, by entering on board their corſairs. Some of them have rendered themſelves famous in piracy, and have riſen to the firſt poſts in the army and ſtate.

Authors conclude the general picture of the inhabitants of Barbary, by saying, that they are addicted to all the vices with which the Africans are reproached, and of which history unfortunately has furnished too many proofs; that they are liars, cheats, traitors, thieves, and cowards: in a word, it is said that they are addicted to debauchery, and the most infamous irregularities; and that if there is any difference between them and the other Africans, it is that they exceed the latter in all these vices, as they far surpass them in lazineſs, ignorance, and superstition. The most common religion is the mahometan; but such as can be practised by people of the above description. It often serves as a pretence for the severities exercised against the christian slaves. The Jews, it is said, are not kept under very great restraint; and other people, whether idolaters, or absolutely void of religion, are left at perfect freedom.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, towards the year 1107, the chief of a Mooriſh tribe, named Techifien, united under his command all the other tribes; subdued with their assistance the Arabs, who had the greatest sway in Africa; and formed a powerful empire in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas. His son Joseph, who was as brave and successful as himself, preserved and increased this empire, and laid the foundation of the city of Morocco. At

the requeſt of the Mooriſh princes, eſtabliſhed in Spain, he appeared twice there at the head of powerful armies. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Ali, was killed there in a battle. Brahem, crowned after him, lived in a ſtate of indolence, which afforded an opportunity to an enthuſiaſt, named Abdallah, who was at the head of a ſect, a man of talents and political ſagacity, to take poſſeſſion of the throne. On his death, his chief general Abdolmumen, ſupported by the ſuffrages of all the reſt, was proclaimed ſovereign. Being incenſed againſt Morocco, becauſe it had acknowledged a ſon of Brahem, he laid ſiege to the town. It was bravely defended by the inhabitants, but he ſwore not to raiſe the ſiege until he had taken it, and made it to paſs through a ſieve. That his oath might be accompliſhed, he cauſed the houſes to be pulled down, and the ſtones to be broken and reduced to powder, which was ſifted. He then conſtructed other palaces and other moſques under his own name; but he had the misfortune to ſee all thoſe edifices reſume the names of the kings, their founders, by which they were before diſtinguiſhed.

Abdolmumen, after the example of his predeceſſors, carried the war into Spain; and in this he was imitated by his ſon Joſeph II. and by his grand-ſon, the celebrated Almanſor, which ſignifies conqueror. This prince ſub-

dued Numidia, and all the country which extends as far as Tripoli, comprehending Morocco, Fez, and Tunis, to the deſerts of Lybia. He was acknowledged as ſovereign by all the Moors of Spain. He made conqueſts alſo among the chriſtians, ſo that he became the moſt powerful king who had reigned in Africa ſince the time of the Arabian caliphs. The concluſion of his life was attended with ſome ſingular circumſtances. While in Spain, the governor of Morocco thought fit to take poſſeſſion of the empire of Africa. Almanſor on his return could find no other means to recover his capital than by promiſing pardon to the rebel, with a ſolemn oath; but when he appeared before him, the prince was not able to reſtrain his anger, and ordered his head to be ſtruck off. Next day Almanſor diſappeared; ſearch was made after him for ſome time without effect; but one of his wives who loved him with great tenderneſs at length found him, it is ſaid, at Alexandria, to which he had fled, and where the monarch had become a baker to expiate his perjury. As he would not return, the emirs conferred the crown on his ſon, who experienced great misfortunes in Spain, and who died of grief. When intelligence was received of his death, all the governors of the different provinces revolted againſt his ſon, who was ſtill a child; and this great empire, towards the

middle of the thirteenth century, was divided into thoſe kingdoms and republics, known by the name of the States of Barbary.

Morocco.

Morocco, between the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean, and Tafilet.

Morocco, Fez, and Suz, are only the ſame empire under the denomination of the firſt. It extends beyond the laſtmentioned province, towards the ſouth, as far as the Niger. But the part beyond Suz is almoſt a barren deſert, inhabited chiefly by wandering Arabs, who acknowledge no other ſovereigns than their chiefs. The heat of this climate is moderated by the weſt winds, which blow from the Atlantic Ocean, and by thoſe which come from Mount Atlas, always covered with ſnow. The country in general is well watered, and if properly cultivated would produce two or three crops in the year; but, except for a few leagues around the towns, it is entirely waſte, or is pillaged by the wandering Arabs. The paſtures of Mount Atlas furniſh thoſe excellent horſes called barbs, dromedaries eſteemed for their fleetneſs, and camels, ſo uſeful in long journies acroſs the dry and ſandy deſerts. They are the beſt in the world. They can travel ten days without drink, and without any other food than what each part of their body furniſhes to ſupport them. On theſe occaſions the bunch on their back is ſeen to decreaſe in ſize, then their belly and

buttocks, and they become ſo weak that they are incapable of ſuſtaining a load of a hundred weight, though, when well fed, they are able to carry one of eight or nine hundred during the longeſt journeys.

The inhabitants who call themſelves the oldeſt are the Berberes. They retain their ancient cuſtoms and language; and as they are not yet entirely ſubdued, live amidſt poverty, in huts, on the mountains. The Arabs wander about from place to place, where they ſow corn and feed their flocks; but though they pay ſome tribute to the emperor of Morocco, they are in reality ſubject only to cherifs choſen by themſelves. Several tribes ſubſiſt merely by plunder, and inhabit inacceſſible places, from which they deſcend to commit depredations on the paſſengers. Travellers are obliged, therefore, to get a billet of protection from one tribe to another, for which they pay a certain ſum; it is carried by an Arab on the point of a lance, and ſerves as a ſafeguard, which every one reſpects. The Moors are the offspring of thoſe who were driven out of Spain. They are numerous on the coaſts, but, as they have no ſhips of their own, they carry on no direct trade with foreign nations. They are conſidered as avaricious, deceitful, ſuperſtitious, jealous, revengeful, and treacherous. In theſe fine qualities they are ſurpaſſed only by the Jews, who came alſo

from Portugal and Spain. Being merchants, factors, and the bankers of the kingdom, they are expoſed to exceſſive taxes, which they alleviate by fraudulent means. The renegadoes are a particular claſs, as much deteſted by the other inhabitants as they are by the chriſtians. They are employed in the meaneſt and moſt laborious offices; when called to the army, they are placed in the foremoſt ranks, and if they in the leaſt give way they are cut to pieces without mercy.

In no country are ſlaves treated with more ſeverity than in Morocco; they all belong to the king, and are never ſuffered to enjoy the leaſt relaxation from their labours. They are allowed no other food than barley bread fried in oil: often while they put one hand to their mouth, they are employed on ſome painful and dirty work with the other. Always followed by mercileſs overſeers, who continually beat them if they ſeek for the leaſt repoſe, it is not uncommon to ſee them fall a prey to fatigue, and expire under the blow. During the night they are ſhut up in a ſubterranean priſon. They deſcend to it by a ladder of ropes, which is drawn up, and an iron trap-door is then let fall on the mouth of the pit. Their dreſs conſiſts of a long veſt of coarſe woollen cloth, with a hood, which ſerves them as cap, ſhirt, and breeches: they are never allowed either ſhoes or ſtockings.

Women and married perſons are exempted from the ſevereſt labours, in order that they may produce new ſlaves; but they are neither better clothed, better lodged, nor better fed than their companions. They are not very ſolicitous of their renouncing the chriſtian faith, as in that caſe they would become free. In Morocco there is a diſtinguiſhed race of Moors, who occupy the firſt places, and make a great figure in the country; but on account of their influence they are more expoſed to the avarice, cruelty, and jealouſy of the ſovereign, who is deſpotic: they often pay dearly for their diſtinction. In the laſt place, there are found on Mount Atlas a kind of ſavages, who inhabit caverns, and who live on fruits, and what they procure by hunting. The inhabitants of Morocco conſiſt, therefore, of men of all kinds, of every religion, and of all figures and colours—for even negroes are not wanting.

All the beauties which the liberal hand of nature laviſhes on the moſt favoured countries are found in Morocco:—immenſe plains, delightful hills, majeſtic mountains, groves, foreſts, and rivers which either flowing along with a winding courſe inundate and fertilize the plains, or hurrying on their foaming ſtreams in impetuous torrents precipitate themſelves over the rocks in caſcades. The manner in which the natives paſs from one ſide of theſe falls to the

other is very ſingular. They place themſelves in a baſket, large enough to contain ten perſons, which by means of a pulley is made to glide along a rope, faſtened at the ends to two other pullies fixed in the rock. If one of theſe machines happens to break, as is ſometimes the caſe, the paſſengers fall into the river from the height of fifteen hundred fathoms. In regard to the towns of the empire of Morocco, the principal are Morocco, Fez, Sallee, Tetuan, and Tafilet, all ornamented with beautiful edifices, ſeparated by a kind of huts in which the populace reſide; ſo that luxury is every-where ſeen accompanied by wretchedneſs:—a mixture very common in deſpotic ſtates. The Portugueſe ſtill retain on the coaſt Mazejan, and the Spaniards Ceuta, two points which enable them to keep in awe the inhabitants of Barbary, and alſo to get rid of their bad ſubjects, whom they baniſh thither. Thus Africa is always deſtined to be peopled by the refuſe of other nations.

The king of Morocco has the title alſo of emperor: he aſſumes the name of cherif, or chief of the eſtabliſhed religion, and he appoints the *alfagui*, who are the miniſters of it; and who, by the deciſions which they give according to his pleaſure, render his ordinances ſacred. There is no government, therefore, in the world more abſolute or more tyrannical: a geſture or look of the prince is often a ſentence of death.

Every one haſtens to obey his mandate, for thoſe who loſe their lives while carrying it into execution are ſuppoſed to go immediately to paradiſe. Among ſo many nations, the emperors, being obliged to gain the affection of thoſe whom they ſuppoſe moſt capable of fidelity, have for ſome time paſt made choice of the negroes. They entruſt them with the protection of their perſons, their concubines, and treaſures, and raiſe them to the firſt dignities of the empire. They are brought from Guinea when young, and are taught nothing but the uſe of arms, and implicit obedience to the orders of the emperor. In ſpiritual affairs he affects to allow ſome ſuperiority to the mufti, but the latter, before he decides, knows well what belongs to the prince. He is heir to all the wealth of his ſubjects, and children receive nothing but what he is pleaſed to allow them from the property of their fathers.

His revenues conſiſt in theſe heritages, and in the ſale of employments; frequent gratuities demanded from thoſe who poſſeſs them; a tribute paid by all corſairs, which amounts to a neat tenth of the prizes they take; beſides what ariſes from the privilege of buying ſlaves for fifty crowns each. Theſe ſlaves he ſometimes ſells with the profit of a hundred per cent; but he generally keeps them and employs them in his own labours, which alſo form a branch of

his revenue. He has likewiſe a tythe of all cattle; but it coſts him ſome trouble to collect it, as he is obliged, for that purpoſe, to ſend out troops, who are not always well received by the Arabs, Moors, and Bereberes, the inhabitants of the country. The jews and chriſtians, for their liberty of trading, pay a capitation tax; and, in the laſt place, the chriſtian ſtates pay tribute under the name of preſents, in order that he may reſtrain his corſairs, and ſuffer only a certain number of them to go out. Nature, however, has impoſed a check on the avarice of theſe ſtates, as they are deſtitute of good ports: Salee, accounted the beſt, is always dry at low water; and is ſhut up beſides by a dangerous bar, ſo that it is capable of admitting none but veſſels of ſmall force, which makes their navy of very little importance. The land forces are neglected in the time of peace: they amount in general to forty thouſand men. The infantry are badly armed and ill diſciplined; the cavalry are maintained better; but the moſt formidable corps is that of the negroes, who compoſe the emperor's body-guard, and conſiſt of four or five thouſand men, cavalry and infantry, without including thoſe diſperſed throughout the provinces. Each governor endeavours to procure an eſcort of them, both to pleaſe the emperor, and for the ſake of his own ſafety. The negroes who form theſe detached guards

afterwards join thoſe of the emperor, and this promotion is an object of emulation and reward.

That taſte for the ſciences which formerly prevailed in Africa is now totally loſt. Nothing is taught at preſent in the celebrated univerſity of Fez but reading, writing, and the Koran. A child who can repeat a few chapters of it from memory becomes a little prodigy, and is led about through the town in triumph by his ſchool-fellows. Arithmetic alſo forms a part of the education given to children in Barbary. The inhabitants learn judicial aſtrology, and have great confidence in charms, ſorcery, and amulets. They are rigid obſervers of mahometaniſm; but, at the ſame time, adhere to ſome practices which are foreign to that religion: they carry proviſions to the tombs of their dead, where they aſſemble in great numbers every Friday; and the women, in particular, never fail to be preſent at theſe meetings, which form one of their recreations. The marabous, whoſe cells are in the neighbourhood, walk thither with a ſlow pace and mortified air, having large chaplets in their hands, and mutter over a few prayers. The children are educated in a mortal hatred to the chriſtians: their name is never mentioned without the addition of ſome imprecation; and even ambaſſadors are not ſheltered from the inſults of the populace.

The inhabitants of Morocco ſhew a ſingular reſpect to pilgrims who have returned from Mecca, whom they call hadgis or ſaints, and even to the animals they rode on, which they maintain without ſubjecting them to labour, and inter with great ceremony. A man convicted of having been eight days abſent from the moſque is, for the firſt offence, rendered incapable of giving evidence in a court of juſtice; for the ſecond, condemned to pay a fine; and for the third, burnt alive. The women are not admitted into theſe places of worſhip, as they might too much diſtract the attention of the good muſſulmen. "Let them propagate their "ſpecies," ſay they; "it was for that pur-"poſe they were born." They believe, it appears, that after this life they have nothing either to hope or to fear. A chriſtian or a jew who enters a moſque is impaled or burnt alive, unleſs he become a muſſulman. The mahometans think it no crime to break their word to infidels, as they call the chriſtians or jews, and to oppreſs them in every poſſible manner. All of them, even the emperor himſelf and his miniſters, are remarkably fond of preſents, and extremely deſirous to obtain them. It is a common proverb among them, that "vinegar re-"ceived as a preſent is ſweeter than honey "which has been purchaſed." In no place is the *ramadan*, or lent, obſerved with more ſtrict-

neſs. Even children are ſubjected to this religious duty; and the crews of their piratical veſſels never allow the ſmalleſt infraction of it. Their puniſhments are horrid. Criminals are ſawn aſunder, lengthwiſe or acroſs; impaled alive, or burnt to death at a ſlow fire.

The *Arabeſc*, or modern Arabic, ſpoken by the inhabitants of the Barbary ſtates, is one of the moſt extenſive languages, as it is uſed in all the dominions of the grand-ſeignior: it is propagated there, and preſerved by the pilgrimages to Mecca. The reſpect which the people have for the name of God is wonderful, as well as their averſion to oaths, with the uſe of which they juſtly reproach the chriſtians. They have not even in their language a word to expreſs blaſphemy. Their quarrels never end in murder, and for this reaſon perhaps, becauſe even when accidental it is never pardoned. A criminal is not accompanied to the place of execution by a crowd of curious ſpectators. If they meet one they look at him as he paſſes with an air of compaſſion, and they cannot comprehend how the people in our cities ſhould be fond of ſuch ſpectacles. Games of chance are ſeverely prohibited; our gambling aſſemblies, ſo active and ſo turbulent, afford them another ſubject of aſtoniſhment. When they pay viſits they never ſpend more time than is abſolutely neceſſary for the buſineſs which is the object of them. They

never enter into desultory conversation respecting the affairs of their neighbours, or the business of the state. The usual entertainment, on these occasions, is sherbet, coffee, and a pipe of tobacco. They drink and smoke in silence, and then take their leave. Wine and strong liquors are severely forbidden; and even the greatest and most powerful lords, if they indulge in them, must do it in secret. There are two political maxims to which the emperor of Morocco pays particular attention: the first is, to preserve and protect, in his ports, the consuls of the christian nations with which he is at war, in order to keep up the commerce of his states; the second is, to live on good terms with the republics of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, that they may not interrupt each other in their piracies, or be involved in quarrels.

1516. We have seen that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, after the death of Almansor, the empire was divided among the governors or viceroys, who rendered themselves independent. The sovereign power, after this period, passed from hand to hand through several tribes to that of Oatazes, who established the throne at Fez, and sent to Morocco only governors. In the province of Darha there resided a man named Hassan, who called himself a cherif; that is to say, a descendant of Mahomet; and who had procured great respect by his virtue and his

piety. He had three ſons, Abdelquivir, Hamet, and Mahomet, whom he educated in the ſame principles. That he might raiſe their reputation among the devotees, he cauſed them to undertake a journey to Mecca, where they acquired ſo much credit, that on their return the people flocked round them in crowds wherever they paſſed to kiſs their garments. Haſſan and his ſons affected extacies, and an extraordinary zeal for religion; ſo that they were at length conſidered as envoys from heaven to defend it. The old cherif ſent his two ſons to Fez, where they inſinuated themſelves ſo much in the favour of the king, that he gave Hamet, the eldeſt, a profeſſor's chair in the celebrated college of that city, and appointed Mahomet, the youngeſt, preceptor to his children.

Taking advantage of the king's favour and their influence in the college, they found means to get themſelves appointed governors of Suz, Morocco, Hoa, Tremecen, and Duquela. This power was granted to them notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Muley Nacer, the miniſter of Oatazes, who never ceaſed to exclaim that there was great reaſon to be ſuſpicious of theſe hypocrites. They had no ſooner arrived in the provinces of their government, than they raiſed the ſtandard of Mahomet againſt the Portugueſe, who had poſſeſſion there of ſome ſmall ſettlements. At the ſame time that they ſhewed a

great zeal for mahometaniſm, which procured them a number of muſſulman ſoldiers, they maintained their credit at court by ſubduing ſome ill-affected towns of their provinces, ſo that the king of Fez triumphed by their ſucceſs, and applauded the choice he had made of the cherifs, whatever the ſuſpicious Muley Nacer might ſay of them. His remonſtrances had begun to produce ſome effect on the mind of the king, when Mahomet, after having rendered himſelf abſolute in his government, built a magnificent palace in the capital of the province, and aſſumed the title of prince of Hoa. He then ſeized on Morocco, from which he expelled the prince of a petty tribe bordering on the territories of that city, and deſtroyed him by poiſon. Hamet united himſelf to his brother Mahomet. Their father Haſſan was now dead; and their eldeſt brother Abdelquivir had been killed in an engagement. They were then known under the name of the two cherifs, and extolled among the muſſulmen as the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters of their religion; but having attained to this degree of power, they openly renounced their dependence on the king of Fez.

Mahomet, 1636. This prince having died of grief, his ſon, who had been the pupil of Mahomet, imagined he could gain his preceptor by giving him to underſtand that for a ſmall annual tribute he would confirm him in his dignity and power. Mahomet

ſent back word to the king, that, being deſcended from the great prophet, it was neither juſt nor becoming his dignity to pay tribute to any one. "If you are deſirous," added he, "to behave "to me as a friend, I ſhall always entertain a "grateful remembrance of the favours I re- "ceived from your father and from you; but if "you interrupt me in the war which I am now "carrying on againſt the chriſtians, you may "expect puniſhment from god and his prophet." After this anſwer, Mahomet aſſumed the title of king, which had been before given to his brother Hamet. The latter, diſpleaſed to ſee his younger brother uſurp a dignity which he thought belonged excluſively to him, declared war againſt Mahomet; but he was defeated and taken priſoner, though afterwards releaſed. The nobility then divided the provinces among them. Hamet could not remain ſatisfied: he took up arms once more; was again taken, and ſuffered no other puniſhment than that of being confined with his family in the town of Tafilet. Mahomet promiſed that if he would remain at peace he would reſtore him to his former condition. He afterwards declared war againſt the king of Fez; and, being always ſucceſsful, put that prince alſo in irons.

The preceptor, ſtill mindful of his ancient condition, made a pedantic remonſtrance to his pupil. He reminded him of the leſſons which

he had formerly given him; and reproached him with inattention to them, and with having ſuffered crimes and abominations to be introduced into his capital, ſo celebrated by the manner in which religion and the ſciences had flouriſhed in it. "If you now find yourſelf "ſtripped of royalty," added the holy man, "as a puniſhment for this negligence, do not "imagine that I am the author of your misfor-"tune. God himſelf has combatted with me "againſt you. This is his work alone." When he concluded, he deigned to aſſure him that he would ſoon be re-eſtabliſhed in his ſtates: and the priſoner, after a ſhort compliment in return for this promiſe, replied: "I can hardly allow "myſelf to believe that you took up arms againſt "me merely for the purpoſe of giving me "this leſſon. I will freely acknowledge that a "great many abuſes and irregularities, which a "king can neither foreſee nor prevent, may be "introduced into a ſtate; but even ſuppoſing "that thoſe with which you tax me were of "the moſt enormous kind, and that it was "entirely owing to my negligence that they "were not checked, had you any right to take "upon you to puniſh my error; you, whom my "father, at my requeſt, raiſed from the low "condition of a ſchoolmaſter to that high degree "of power to which you have attained? Does "it become you, whom I myſelf have loaded

" with benefits, to repay me with ingratitude, " under the ſpecious cloak of virtue and reli- " gion?" After a pauſe, occaſioned as much by indignation as by the pain of his wounds, which he was prevented from paying attention to by Mahomet's zeal for the reformation of his pupil, he replied: " To avoid what might give you " uneaſineſs, by unveiling to thoſe who hear us " your profound diſſimulation, I ſhall only add, " that Providence has delivered me into your " hands to try what uſe you will make of your " victory: and ſince you have undertaken to " remind me here of my duty, let us ſee whether " you can perform your own; and whether you " are capable of perceiving how far the incon- " ſtancy of fortune may have rendered us ne- " ceſſary to each other."

A malignant ſmile appeared on the cherif's countenance. He however behaved to his priſoner with decent reſpect; but when they came to mention terms, this generous conqueror would not releaſe him except on the hard condition that the king of Fez ſhould deliver up to him his capital, at whatever period he might think proper to demand it. Under this demand he concealed views which were not long in being diſplayed. His brother Hamet, who was diſſatisfied with the portion allotted to him, judged of the diſcontent of the king of Fez by his own, and propoſed to him a league againſt their com-

mon enemy. Mahomet before the rupture, and even without knowing whether it would take place, preſented himſelf before Fez, and ſummoned the king to ſurrender. The king refuſed, throwing the blame on the inhabitants, who he ſaid were unwilling to change their maſter; but Mahomet having already gained over the greater part of them, they cauſed the gates to be opened. The king fled with precipitation into the fortreſs, without proviſions; and was forced to ſurrender with no other favour than that of being allowed to live, as a private individual, in whatever place the conqueror ſhould think proper to appoint. He ſent notice to the unfortunate prince to retire with his family to Morocco, where he might always have him under his hand; and he baniſhed his brother Hamet to the deſert, that he might never more hear mention made of his name.

This prince, however, eſcaped from his melancholy abode, and ſtill became the cauſe of uneaſineſs to his brother. He again fell into his hands; and Mahomet ſent him with all his children to Morocco, which was his priſon. But the king of Fez was no longer in that city, as the tyrant, on a very ſlight ſuſpicion, had cauſed him to be put to death with his two ſons. The cherif, in his old age, experienced misfortunes, which irritated his temper. He loſt in war his favourite ſon, to whom he confided his moſt im-

portant concerns, and his arms were not attended with ſucceſs. He became afraid of treachery and revolt, which rendered him gloomy and cruel. He was, however, not able to avoid his melancholy fate. While he was ſubduing the empire of Morocco, Barbaroſſa had ſeized on the kingdom of Algiers. Theſe two warriors had a reſpect for each other. When Barbaroſſa died, his ſon Haſſan having learned that Mahomet was making preparations againſt him, and being afraid that he ſhould not be able to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy, diſpatched an aſſaſſin, who killed him in the middle of his camp. As ſoon as the news of his death had reached Morocco, the governor, named Budcar, ſuſpecting that Hamet, whom he had in his cuſtody, might find means to excite a ſedition, cauſed him to be maſſacred, with ſeven of his ſons or grandſons. Thus the two brothers, who had ſo long diſputed for the empire, both periſhed by violent deaths almoſt at the ſame time.

Mahomet was ſucceeded by his ſon Abdallah, under whom Budcar received the recompenſe of his officious cruelty. Two young princes, born by Lela Mariem, the ſiſter of Abdallah, to Sidan the eldeſt ſon of Hamet, were involved in the maſſacre of Hamet's children. The princeſs their mother, filled with deſpair, reſolved to be revenged on the murderer; and purſued her meaſures for that purpoſe with great policy. As

Abdallah, 1557.

Budcar had been appointed grand-vizier, ſhe endeavoured to inſpire him with ſuſpicions againſt his brother, who entertained for her a greater affection than a brother ought for a ſiſter. She endeavoured, above all, to inſinuate that the vizier, on his death, would endeavour to place upon the throne the emperor's brother, in prejudice to his ſon. As Abdallah refuſed to give credit to this information, Lela Mariem propoſed to him a plan by which he might convince himſelf of the diſpoſitions of the vizier.

She made the prince pretend to be ill, and would not ſuffer him to be ſeen. The vizier, being refuſed admittance, ſuppoſed that the prince was dead; and that his ſiſter meant to conceal this circumſtance from the public. The vizier, therefore, demanded admittance in an imperious tone, and Lela, as if forced to comply, acknowledged that her brother was dead, and introduced the vizier into an apartment where he ſaw the prince ſtretched out motionleſs, having his face covered with a veil. The princeſs then propoſed to him to proclaim the ſon of the deceaſed king: but the vizier replied, that the prince was too young; that it would be neceſſary to have ſome one capable of governing the ſtate, of puniſhing the crimes which Abdallah had tolerated, and of rewarding the good ſubjects whom he had neglected; that no perſon

was more qualified to fill the vacant throne than the king's brother; and that notwithſtanding the obligations he was under to the deceaſed, he would be the firſt to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of his ſon. He would have ſaid a great deal more, had not Abdallah, becoming impatient, thrown aſide his veil, and begun a ſpeech filled with the ſevereſt reproaches, which Budcar did not hear to the end. He was thrown into ſo great conſternation that he diſguiſed himſelf in female attire, and quitting the city, ſat down under an olive-tree to wait for horſes, which he had ordered to follow him. Some huntſmen, who paſſed that way, taking him for a woman of pleaſure, lifted up his veil, and recognized him. To find a grand-vizier in ſuch a ſituation inſpired them with ſuſpicions; they accordingly ſeized him, and conducted him before the emperor, who being ſtill in the heat of his paſſion, ordered him to be beheaded.

His ſon and ſucceſſor, Muley Mahamet, was dethroned by his uncle Muley Moluch, who gained the famous battle in which Don Sebaſtian, the king of Portugal, diſappeared. When the battle began, the Mooriſh king was at the point of death in his litter; yet he gave his orders with great tranquillity: and having ſeen victory incline in his favour, expired before the battle was entirely decided. Muley Hamet, his brother, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed amidſt

Muley Mahamet, 1574. Muley Moluch and Muley Hamet I. 1575. Sidan, 1603. Muley Abdelmalech, 1630. Muley Elwali, 1634. Muley Hamet II. 1646. Muley Cherif, 1650.

his trophies; and the whole courſe of his reign correſponded with the beginning: it was long and happy. That of his ſon Sidan was rendered turbulent by the rebellion of his brothers, and other relations, but he ſubdued them, and afterwards enjoyed ſeveral years' tranquillity. Muley Abdelmalech, the ſon of the latter, abandoned to debauchery, cruel, and deteſted by his ſubjects, was aſſaſſinated by a Tartar chriſtian, whom he wiſhed to make an eunuch; and was ſucceeded by Muley Elwali, his brother. This prince was juſt on the point of loſing his eyes by the orders of the barbarous Abdelmalech when he aſcended the throne. He was of a mild, affable diſpoſition; and by his good conduct procured the eſteem of his ſubjects. His brother and ſucceſſor, Muley Hamet II. was, on the other hand, univerſally deſpiſed on account of his exceſſive paſſion for women, which detained him in a ſtate of indolence in his ſeraglio. He, however, ſuffered for his inactivity, being ſurprized by the Alarbes, a tribe of the Arabs of the deſert, by whom he was put to death. They ſubſtituted in his ſtead their own king, Crumel Hack; but as he was not of the dynaſty, he is not included among the legitimate ſucceſſors. The latter retired to the kingdom of Tafilet, which was governed by one of them named Muley Cherif, who was defeated in a battle by Sidi Omar, the petty prince of Illech, and confined

to a close prison, where he lived a considerable time. That he might not be without company, Omar sent him a very ugly female negro, by whom he had two sons, Muley Archi, and Muley Ismael.

Of these children, Muley Archi, the eldest, became king of Tafilet by the death of his father, who re-ascended the throne after being delivered from his captivity. During his reign, Muley Ismael, the younger brother, resided as a private individual at Mequinez, which was then only a castle, situated in the most agreeable and most fertile part of Barbary, where he employed himself in commerce and agriculture. His brother having lost his life by an accident, Ismael, from being a farmer and merchant, became instantly the most barbarous tyrant that ever possessed a throne. His first measure was to occupy his people in such a manner that they might not have time to think of the oppression under which they groaned. "When I confine rats in a basket," said he, "they break through and "escape, unless I give them employment." He loaded them, therefore, with labour and taxes, and always kept their minds in suspence by new orders or cruel exactions. His avarice was equal to his ferocity; and he accumulated immense sums, without expending any thing for his family or his troops. Muley Archi. Muley Ismael, 1672.

Having one day commanded his army to go

and beſiege Morocco, which had been ſeized by one of his ſons, the officers demanded the money due to them. "How, money!" replied Iſmael in a paſſion. "Ye Mooriſh dogs," added he, "do you ſee the mules, camels, and other ani-"mals, of my empire aſk any thing for their "nouriſhment? They find it themſelves, with-"out importuning me; do you the ſame, and "march with all ſpeed." This was telling them, in plain terms, rob and plunder wherever you can; and indeed they did not fail to obey his inſtructions. The prince againſt whom they were diſpatched was the eldeſt of his ſons, named Muley Mahamet, who had been forced to revolt by the intrigues of a jealous ſtep-mother, and the harſh uſage of his father.

Muley had, as a rival in favour, his brother Sidan, the ſon of Laila Ajacha, a female negro, whoſe ſoul was as black as her body. The ſon did not degenerate from his mother; and, to malice and treachery, added cruelty and debauchery, which rendered him deteſtable to all thoſe who knew him. Muley, on the other hand, being endowed with the moſt amiable qualities, was univerſally eſteemed. Whether owing to caprice, envy, or a deſire of getting rid of both, Iſmael ſent to a diſtant town theſe two brothers, who were ſo little calculated for living together. Having quarrelled there, and come to blows, the father ordered them to be brought

before him; and not being able to reconcile them, he indulged in the ſingular pleaſure of making them fight once more in his preſence. They were deprived of their ſabres, but ſupplied with cudgels. They fought with ſo much fury, that they were ſoon covered with blood; and the death of Sidan would have been the conſequence had not their father ordered them to be ſeparated. As Mahomet did not readily obey his command, Iſmael laid hold of a ſtick, and beat him; but in a few moments he found his tenderneſs awakened, and, as a kind of reparation for the injury, conferred on him a government at his own choice.

This return of favour convinced Laila Ajacha that her ſtratagems had not yet been able to detach Iſmael from his ſon; and that there was great reaſon to apprehend he might deſtine the crown for him. She, therefore, redoubled her perfidy, and made the prince commit a murder, which would have ruined him in the eſteem of his father, had he not had proof ready at hand that he had been inſtigated to the crime by his mother-in-law, under the ſeal of her huſband. Iſmael, who was ſo cruel towards his wives that he cauſed them to be ſtrangled by dozens in his ſeraglio, on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, granted a free pardon to this negreſs. The prince, however, being always expoſed to new acts of treachery, raiſed at length the ſtandard of re-

volt; and the emperor ſent againſt him his brother Sidan, who, partly by force and partly by ſtratagem, took him priſoner.

On this occaſion the character of Iſmael was fully diſplayed. He firſt ordered his unfortunate ſon to be brought to him at Morocco, but, inflamed with a deſire of gratifying his vengeance, he went to meet him as far as Mequinez. He entered the town, preceded by forty chriſtian ſlaves, bearing a large cauldron, a hundred weight of pitch, and the ſame quantity of tallow and oil. They were followed by ſix butchers with knives in their hands, and a waggon loaded with faggots. This horrid apparatus ſtruck terror into the inhabitants of Mequinez, who had already beheld puniſhments invented by Iſmael. Univerſal conſternation prevailed; and Mahamet's daughter and her companions ſent forth the moſt lamentable cries. Even the black ſultaneſs, diſſembling her hatred, united with the reſt to ſupplicate for a pardon; but the emperor replied coolly, that his ſon would ſuffer no other puniſhment than that of having a little boiling oil thrown over him.

The prince had preceded him one day, and reached a ſmall village on the other ſide of Mequinez. The father remained without ſeeing him for a day; but being at length brought before the barbarian, he proſtrated himſelf at his feet. The father, fixing his eyes on him with

a look of fury, placed the point of his lance on his breaſt, and remained ſilent. Soon after, as if repenting that he was about to ſubject him to a puniſhment too mild, he ordered him to aſcend the cart which contained the boiling oil; and commanded one of the butchers to mount with him, to place his arm on the edge of the cauldron, and to chop it off. The unhappy wretch refuſed, and ſaid he would rather die than ſhed the blood of the ſon of his prince. The king, irritated, ſtruck off his head, and gave the ſame orders to another, who inſtantly obeyed, and cut off one of his feet alſo. "Ah! wretch," ſaid the prince to his ſon with an inſulting air, "doſt thou "now know thy father?" Having pronounced theſe words, he took up a muſket, and diſpatched the butcher who had cut off his ſon's hand and foot. His ſon had ſtill ſtrength to ſay: "What "bravery! he kills him who executes his or-"ders, as well as him who refuſes." The arm and leg were then immerſed in the oil, to ſtop the effuſion of blood; and the ſame day the prince was conducted to Mequinez. He entered the city on a mule, with his arm in a ſcarf, and his leg in a box; but becoming frantic by this horrid treatment, he would not ſuffer his wounds to be dreſſed. He tore off the bandage; and a mortification taking place, he died on the thirteenth day.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the doleful cries and

ſhouts with which the women made the ſeraglio reſound, when they heard of this new kind of puniſhment inflicted on the unhappy cherif. To appeaſe this agitation, the king was obliged to threaten with death all thoſe who ſhould ſend forth the ſmalleſt cry; and in order to ſhew that he ſpoke in earneſt, he ordered four, who were unable to reſtrain their emotions, to be ſtrangled. Mahamet's daughter was the only one allowed to indulge in tears and lamentation. After theſe examples, it is needleſs to ſay that Iſmael was a monſter of cruelty: but he was a pious and devout muſſulman, and ſtrict in performing all the duties of his religion; ſuch as prayers, faſting, and ablutions. None of his barbarous actions can be aſcribed to intoxication; for he never drank wine or ſtrong liquors. He undertook no affair of importance without proſtrating himſelf a long time on the earth, to requeſt light and aſſiſtance from God. How contraſts are combined in certain characters!

Sidan, who had been the cauſe of the fatal cataſtrophe of Mahamet, became, in his turn, ſuſpected by his father, who endeavoured to entice him to court. He employed the ſame negreſs, his mother, who appears to have ſeriouſly exerted herſelf for that purpoſe; but their ſtratagems and efforts were uſeleſs. Sidan kept firm to his reſolution: but as his violence and intoxication made him be hated even by his wives,

who lived in a ſtate of continual alarm, dreading every moment to fall a ſacrifice in ſucceſſion to the fury of his paſſion, Iſmael gained them over to his intereſt; and one day, while overpowered with wine, they ſtrangled him in his bed. As a tyrant can never be free from ſuſpicion, and particularly in old age, Iſmael ſtill conceived miſtruſt againſt his eldeſt ſon Abdelmelech, and endeavonred to prevail on him to reſide near him; but as he did not ſucceed, he was ſo incenſed that he named for his ſucceſſor Muley Debi, who was two years younger. He died at a very advanced age. It may be ſaid that he reigned by terror; and that it was always effectual. He ſeemed to ſport with the lives of men, for he ſpared no one; and thoſe accounted themſelves happy who were not condemned to languiſh out their exiſtence amidſt the moſt cruel tortures. He was, however, conſidered as a great politician, and reſtored to the kingdom of Morocco that ſplendour which it had long loſt.

Muley Debi. Abdelmelech, 1727. Abdallan, 1730.

The children of this prince diſputed for the throne; and ſtill more for the honour, if poſſible, of ſurpaſſing their father in cruelty. Muley Debi proceeded to ſuch exceſs of debauchery, that the people curſed his father for having choſen to be his ſucceſſor the moſt vicious of his ſons. This general hatred gave many advantages to Abdelmelech, who had taken up arms againſt him. He, indeed, vanquiſhed his brother, and having

made him priſoner, wiſhed to put out his eyes, but was prevented by the militia. They conſidered him as a reſource neceſſary to be preſerved, in caſe they ſhould happen to be diſpleaſed with the new emperor, which was ſoon after the caſe. Abdelmelech, who had been conſidered as mild and patient under oppreſſion, ſhewed himſelf cruel and diſſolute when he acquired power. The body of the negroes, whoſe favour he was incapable of ſecuring, reſtored the crown to Debi, who renewed his debaucheries, and died after ordering his brother to be ſtrangled. He left a ſon, who at firſt was acknowledged as his ſucceſſor; but one of Iſmael's widows managed her intrigues ſo well with the blacks, that ſhe cauſed Abdallah, whom ſhe had born to the old emperor, to be placed on the throne.

This prince did not degenerate from the ferocity of his father. Like a monſter, he took delight to wallow in blood. He was twice dethroned and reſtored. During theſe viciſſitudes he was ſometimes ſupported, and ſometimes oppoſed, by the corps of negroes, who were ready to ſell their ſervices to the higheſt bidder. Having one day taken a priſoner, he ran him through with his lance, and called for a cup that he might drink his blood. His grand-vizier ſtopped him. "This action," ſaid he, "is un-" worthy of your majeſty; but what is not be-

" coming in a king may be proper in a ſub-
" ject." He then took the cup and ſwallowed its contents. Were we even unacquainted with the character of this prince, ſome idea might be formed of it from ſuch a miniſter. His mother, in the utmoſt diſtreſs, on account of his cruelties at the taking of Fez, almoſt all the inhabitants of which he cauſed to be inhumanly maſſacred, having ventured to make ſome remonſtrances, he replied: " My ſubjects have
" no right to their lives, but what I give them.
" As for me, I have no greater pleaſure than
" that of butchering them with my own hands."
He had, indeed, no other means of avoiding their fury than by undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca. Since the time of Abdallah, the empire of Morocco, a continual ſubject of diſpute to different competitors, has always been ultimately ſettled by the militia, who, however, always choſe the cherifs from princes of the royal blood, which has cauſed religious fanaticiſm to be perpetuated on the throne together with cruelty.

ALGIERS.

Algiers, between Tunis, Zaara, and the Mediterranean.

The ſoil and climate of Algiers are favourable to productions of every kind. The inhabitants are as mixed a breed as thoſe in the kingdom of Morocco. It would appear, that the Moors who live here are more wretched than thoſe in any

other country. Their douwars are exceedingly filthy; and their furniture is of the meaneſt kind. A hand-mill, a pot to boil their rice, a few pitchers, and ſome mats, form their whole riches. They all lodge together—fathers, mothers, children, horſes and aſſes, cows and goats, dogs, chickens and cats—and often ſeveral families at the ſame time. They pay a certain tax to the dey of Algiers. The cheik is reſponſible for the whole village. They mix their bad bread with barley, and their principal articles of ſeaſoning are oil and vinegar. From this ſpecimen ſome idea may be formed of the reſt of their food. The land is cultivated by the men; while the women and children are employed in tending their flocks. The dreſs of both ſexes is a piece of coarſe woollen cloth, which they wrap round the body in the beſt manner they can. The women, however, find means to arrange it in ſuch a manner as to ſet off their beauties to the greateſt advantage. They are brown, and of a lively and cheerful diſpoſition. At the age of ſeven or eight, children receive a few rags to cover their nakedneſs. They marry at a very early period; and ſome of them are mothers at the age of nine or ten.

When a marriage has been ſettled, the intended huſband carries to the tent of the bride's father the preſent of cattle deſtined for him. It is an eſtabliſhed form that he muſt be aſked

what his ſpouſe coſts him; and that he ſhould reply: "A prudent and induſtrious wife is "never purchaſed at a dear rate." She is carried through the village in proceſſion, amidſt loud ſhouts of joy, on a horſe belonging to her huſband; and when ſhe arrives at his tent, the parents preſent to her a beverage compoſed of milk and honey. While ſhe drinks, her companions dance and ſing around her, and wiſh the new-married couple every kind of happineſs. She then fixes in the ground, to as great a depth as ſhe can, a ſtick given to her by her companions, who addreſs her in the following words: "As this ſtick cannot leave its place "unleſs taken from it, may you, in the like "manner, never quit your huſband unleſs he "drive you from him." From this cuſtom it might be concluded that divorces are permitted in this country, but polygamy is not known. The young wife is then put in poſſeſſion of the flock, which ſhe conducts, or at leaſt makes the appearance of conducting, to paſture; the remainder of the day is ſpent in pleaſure. The women never interfere with any thing but their domeſtic concerns; public affairs are reſerved excluſively for the men; and they would deſpiſe their huſbands if they did not obſerve ſilence reſpecting them. The object of them, in general, is to purſue meaſures for robbing ſome one who is paſſing through their territories. "The

" country belongs to us," ſay they; " it has been " uſurped from us, and we are authorized to " ſeize every thing we can find, ſince our maſ- " ters have the cruelty to leave us in the moſt " wretched indigence."

The Algerines, their maſters, could hardly have the effrontery to reproach them with their robbery, ſince they themſelves, with even leſs appearance of juſtice, follow no other employment than that of exerciſing the ſame rapacity againſt all nations. They are the moſt dangerous, the boldeſt, and the crueleſt of all the African pirates. Though they have retained the title of kingdom, the government in the hands of the militia is entirely republican. The grand-ſeignior formerly ſent thither pachas, who had all the authority of a viceroy. Some of them, however, thought of nothing but filling their own coffers, impoveriſhed the people by exorbitant taxes, and did not even pay the janiſſaries employed to keep the country in a ſtate of dependence on Conſtantinople. Some of them were maſſacred by the people, who repreſented to the Porte, that the bad conduct of theſe pachas might be highly prejudicial to the ſovereignty of the grand-ſeignior; that the militia were becoming weaker every day for want of pay; and that, if this diſorder continued, the Arabs and the Moors would ſoon be in a condition to throw off the Ottoman yoke.

They propoſed, therefore, to elect from among themſelves a dey to take care of the revenues of the country, and employ them in paying the troops, who were to be kept always complete, and in providing for the wants of the ſtate, which by theſe means would ceaſe to be a burden to the Ottoman court. They engaged, in conſequence of this arrangement, always to acknowledge the grand-ſeignior as their ſovereign. The Porte approved this plan, and ſince that time the militia have acquired unlimited power, by the right they poſſeſs of electing the dey from their own body. They eſtabliſhed a council or divan, which conſiſted at firſt of eight hundred officers, without whoſe advice the dey could form no deciſions; and, on important occaſions, he was even obliged to aſſemble the whole body, who amounted ſometimes to the number of fifteen thouſand. In proportion as the deys, who are like the ſtadtholders in Holland, became more powerful, they reduced the divan to thirty *yah pachas*. They invite thither alſo, according to their pleaſure, the muphti and the cadi; but every thing, in general, is ſettled by the favourites of the dey, before the divan aſſembles; yet all the orders iſſued from it are ſaid to be in the name of the grand and petty members of the powerful and invincible militia of Algiers and of the whole kingdom.

All thoſe who compoſe this militia, without

excepting the meaneſt ſoldier, have the right of aſpiring to the dignity of dey; ſo that a bold and enterprizing ſoldier may be conſidered as preſumptive heir to the ſovereignty. He has even this advantage, that there is no neceſſity for the place becoming vacant by the natural death of the perſon who holds it. He has nothing to do but to put the reigning prince to death; and, if poſſeſſed of courage and addreſs, the ſame ſcimeter which he dared to ſtain with the blood of his maſter, may ſerve to procure him the throne. It is, therefore, a kind of prodigy to ſee a dey cloſe his exiſtence with that dignity. They are almoſt all aſſaſſinated, obliged to abdicate, or to fly. The election, which is determined by a plurality of voices, ſeldom paſſes without ſome maſſacre. As ſoon as the grand-ſeignior is informed of it, he ſends the new dey a patent as viceroy; but when it arrives it is ſometimes uſeleſs, as the perſon for whom it was intended is no longer in exiſtence.

The moſt powerful officer, next to the dey, is the aga of the militia. At firſt this office was held by the oldeſt ſoldier, but afterwards it was transferred to the chiau pacha. He keeps the keys of the gates, and poſſeſſes great authority. Next to him is the ſecretary of ſtate, who is as it were the prime miniſter; and then the counſellors, to the number of thirty: of this body the divan is compoſed. They all ſit when they

aſſemble; but the inferior members, invited thither, ſuch as old ſoldiers, officers, veterans, and others, are obliged to ſtand with their arms acroſs, and as motionleſs as poſſible. No one is allowed to enter the divan with any kind of weapon. The dey or the aga preſides and propoſes the ſubject of deliberation, which is repeated by four officers; each member of the divan then repeats it to his neighbour, with ſingular geſtures and contorſions; and when the propoſal diſpleaſes him, with a frightful noiſe; ſo that, without putting the queſtion to the vote, the preſident can foreſee what will be the reſult. As all thoſe who compoſe the divan are ſoldiers of fortune, men of low birth, brutal and ignorant, theſe deliberations are attended with great tumult. The new dey generally takes proper precautions to enſure a preponderance in the aſſembly, by cauſing ſuch members of it as oppoſed his election, or conſented to it with a bad grace, to be ſtrangled.

All the acts of the divan are written in the Turkiſh language; that of the natives is a mixture of Arabic, Mooriſh, and the ancient language, ſuppoſed to be the Phœnician. That uſed in commerce is the Lingua Franca, a jargon compoſed of Spaniſh, Portugueſe, Italian, and French, which is employed throughout all the Levant. Every Algerine corſair forms a ſmall and diſtinct republic, of which the *rais*, or

captain, is the pacha; with his officers he compoſes a kind of divan, which regulates every thing that concerns the veſſel. The religion of the Algerines is very little different from that of the Turks, except that the former are much more ſuperſtitious, but very much relaxed in their practice. The head of it is the high-prieſt, or *muphti*; and all cauſes, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical, are judged by the *cadi*. The grand *marabou*, or chief of the morabites, a kind of hermit, without juriſdiction, poſſeſſes great influence in the ſtate. Theſe three men have ſeats in the divan, on the right of the dey; and they all make a great merit of faſting and ablutions, which they conſider as the moſt effectual means for effacing ſins.

The following things they hold in great deteſtation: to carry the Koran below their girdle; to let a drop of urine fall on their clothes; to uſe a pen for writing inſtead of a pencil; to have printed books or any repreſentations whatever of men and animals; to make uſe of bells; to ſuffer chriſtians, and above all, women, to enter their moſques; to exchange a Turk for a chriſtian; to touch money, to engage in any occupation, and even to dreſs a wound, before they repeat their morning prayers; and to ſtrike the earth with their foot when playing at tennis, becauſe perhaps it is a ſign of impatience; to eat ſnails, becauſe they conſider them as ſa-

cred;—they have perhaps clothed them with this character becauſe they are bad and unwholeſome food; to chaſtiſe their children anywhere except on the ſoles of the feet; and to ſhut their bed-chamber in the night. All this is ridiculous, as well as their conſidering fools, idiots, and lunatics as ſaints; but the moſt horrid feature in their character is, that they extol unnatural love as a virtue, and are, in general, addicted to it.

Both men and women wear long dreſſes, which have a reſemblance to each other. The latter uſe veils ſo tranſparent that they can ſee through them and enjoy ſome liberty. The ſlaves are diſtinguiſhed by a cap. The dey alone and the principal officers of the divan have the privilege of riding through the town on horſeback. The legal revenues of the dey are not very conſiderable; but they are raiſed to a great amount by extortion, fines, and plunder. Juſtice is ſpeedy, and exceedingly ſevere, except to the Turks, who are all ſoldiers, and whoſe favour it is neceſſary to retain. The puniſhments are horrid. That of throwing criminals on iron hooks placed at the bottom of the walls of the town, on which they remain a long time alive, has, it is ſaid, been aboliſhed. A woman never goes to demand juſtice alone: ſhe aſſembles thoſe of the neighbourhood, and they all proceed to lay their complaint before the divan, which is

obliged to hear them. Each nation have magiſtrates of their own, and in regard to their private affairs are judged by their own laws. There are none left without reſource and protection but the unhappy ſlaves, who are continually expoſed to the rod or ſabre of their mercileſs maſters. Such of the female ſex as are rich lead a life of great indolence, as is the caſe in other countries. They are required to be chaſte, and at marriage muſt publicly produce proofs that they are virgins. The ſick are attended by perſons of their own ſex. It is not difficult here to become a phyſician, as nothing is neceſſary but to be acquainted with a few ſimples and recipes. He who poſſeſſes ſecrets, ſuch as charms or ſorcery, will ſoon make a fortune. Their mourning is very ſlight. Nothing can be ſo inſolent as the militia. The meaneſt Turkiſh ſoldier thinks himſelf ſuperior to the richeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of other nations. Care is always taken to make way for him, otherwiſe he will make way for himſelf. Theſe Turks, ſo haughty, are however the moſt avaricious beings in the world; and will be guilty of the moſt abject meanneſs to obtain money. Hence the proverb common at Algiers: "Give money to "a Turk with one hand, and he will permit "you to pluck out his eyes with the other."

The Algerine ſtates are divided into three governments: the eaſt, weſt, and ſouth. The

firſt is the moſt conſiderable, on account of its riches. It contains a great number of ancient towns, where ſtill may be ſeen the remains of monuments which atteſt their former celebrity, without reckoning thoſe that exhibit nothing but ruins. Among the latter may be reckoned Hippo, where Bona now ſtands, which diſputes with Conſtantine the title of capital. This government borders on the deſert. The inhabitants, in general, are haughty and warlike. The weſtern alſo diſputes with the eaſtern the melancholy honour of being covered with ſuperb ruins. Its capital, for a long time, was Oran, which the Spaniards took, loſt, and retook, and of which they are ſtill maſters. In the ſouthern government there are no towns, as the Arabs by whom it is inhabited all live under tents. They are ſubjects on whom little dependance can be placed. If the dey haraſſes them for the ſmall tribute which they ought to pay, they bury their corn and moſt valuable effects in places known only to themſelves, and fly to the deſerts or inacceſſible retreats, where they are ſafe from all purſuit.

Algiers, the capital of the whole kingdom, which forms a ſort of an amphitheatre, preſents a moſt beautiful view to thoſe who approach it by ſea. The houſes are white and ornamented with terraces, periſtyles, and colonades, which riſe above each other; but on entering it the

ſtreets are found narrow, dirty, and crooked, and always obſtructed by a multitude of people and beaſts of burthen. The inhabitants pay viſits to each other on their terraces; by means of which they can go from one end of the town to the other, becauſe there are ladders to aſcend or deſcend when the houſes are not of the ſame height. Notwithſtanding this facility of paſſing from one houſe to another, there are no thieves; for if a ſtranger is caught in any of them he is puniſhed with death. The country around Algiers is delightful, being interſperſed with beautiful villas, which are the more neceſſary as in the town there are neither ſquares nor gardens. Warm baths are found in the neighbourhood; and this convenience is not uncommon in this part of Africa, which may be conſidered as placed over volcanoes, ſince earthquakes are here very common.

We have already ſeen that the Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals, and the Arabs, were ſucceſſively maſters of all this coaſt. The tribes of the laſtmentioned people divided themſelves in the country and formed different petty ſtates, among which there were ſometimes independent cities. Of this kind was that of Algiers, which though very inconſiderable at firſt, became afterwards a place of note by the aſylum it afforded to the Moors expelled from Spain, under Ferdinand and Iſabella. Theſe exiles, rendered de-

ſperate by their expulſion, iſſued from this retreat like ferocious beaſts, and endeavoured to repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained by piracy at ſea and plundering incurſions on ſhore. The Spaniards, to check their ravages, made an irruption into Africa in the beginning of the ſixteenth century; took Oran, and laid ſiege to Algiers, which was the principal haunt of theſe pirates. The Algerines invited to their aſſiſtance Selim Eutemy, an Arab chief in the neighbourhood; but notwithſtanding his efforts the Spaniards effected a landing cloſe to the town. They were obliged, therefore, to ſubmit to a tribute; and to allow the Spaniards to erect a fortreſs in an iſland oppoſite to the city, which they ſupplied with a garriſon and a numerous train of artillery.

Impatient under this yoke, the Algerines concerted with their ally Eutemy, and with his conſent called in, to deliver them, the famous corſair Barbaroſſa, who as is ſaid had rendered himſelf formidable at ſea from the age of thirteen. He arrived with his brother Hairadin, highly gratified by the invitation, as it offered him a fixed reſidence, with a good port to which he could carry his prizes, being then deſtitute of both; but he did not communicate his real deſign to the Algerines. He appeared in the quality of an auxiliary and ally. All the inhabitants of the city went out to meet him with prince Eutemy at their head. He was received

with every mark of diſtinction, and all ranks were anxious to provide accommodations for his troops in the city. He himſelf received an affectionate invitation from an Arab to lodge in the palace which he occupied. Barbaroſſa took advantage of this reception to procure the neceſſary information and to concert meaſures for his enterprize. He communicated his plan to his chief officers, whom he found diſpoſed to ſecond him, and agreed to conduct himſelf the principal part of the execution. Eutemy being accuſtomed to repair to the bath every day at noon, before prayers, Barbaroſſa ſurprized him there alone naked and deſtitute of arms, and ſtrangled him with a napkin. The latter immediately quitted the bath, and then returned, with ſome attendants, as if for the purpoſe of bathing. The ſurprize he affected on ſeeing the prince dead did not impoſe upon every one of the ſpectators; but his ſoldiers had already made themſelves ſo formidable that no perſon durſt expreſs the leaſt ſuſpicion. Some abandoned the city, and others ſhut themſelves up in their houſes. Barbaroſſa, amidſt the general conſternation, planted guards in convenient places; took poſſeſſion of the principal poſts, and by one crime found himſelf in a moment maſter of the city.

He reigned there by terror; often expoſed to conſpiracies which he detected with addreſs, and

which he puniſhed with cruelty; but, at the ſame time, he raiſed his kingdom to a ſtate of ſplendour it never had before known, and cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged by foreign as well as by neighbouring nations. His troops were compoſed chiefly of Turks; and it was chiefly under the banners of the creſcent that he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his maritime exploits. He kept up an intimate connexion with the Porte, but preſerved his independence. He procured from it recruits, and ſent thither preſents. He was killed in a battle with the Spaniards, after having ſubdued the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Algiers, and given to that kingdom almoſt the whole extent and power it has at preſent.

He was ſucceeded by Hairadin; but this prince, as he either poſſeſſed leſs talents than his brother or found the revolts excited againſt him more dangerous, after having attempted for two years to maintain himſelf alone, thought it prudent to intereſt the Porte to ſupport his authority. With that view he offered to reſign the ſovereignty, and to content himſelf with being acknowledged pacha or viceroy of the ſultan. On this condition Selim ſent him a powerful reinforcement of janiſſaries; and thus Algiers fell under the dominion of the Turks: but we have ſeen that the authority of the Ottoman

court declined there in the courſe of time. It was firſt reduced to a little influence in regard to the nomination of the dey; and then merely to the honour of giving him a patent, which it could not refuſe. It always kept there a pacha as the ſucceſſor of Barbaroſſa and his deſcendants; but at length the office of pacha diſappeared, being totally eclipſed by that of dey. At preſent Algiers is a power abſolutely ſovereign and independent, as it is rather in alliance with than ſubject to the Turks, and keeps up with them a connexion only of decency and reſpect, founded on an identity of religion.

The events which have taken place in Algiers, ſince its foundation by the two Barbaroſſas, are nothing elſe than jealouſies and intrigues among the chief men to ſupplant each other; acts of cruelty, depoſitions, and other cataſtrophes of the like kind. Were we to delineate a picture of them, it would exhibit an uninterrupted ſeries of the moſt horrid acts of tyranny: aſſaſſinations among the great, wretchedneſs and oppreſſion among the poor, with inſtances of the moſt inhuman vengeance againſt the relations and partiſans of the different princes maſſacred; and of confiſcations, impriſonment, and perſecution, ſo that at the end of a month, and even a week, the reigning prince has met with the ſame fate, and a new revolution has brought back the

ſame ſcenes of madneſs and cruelty. Theſe, added to piratical expeditions at ſea, would form the principal part of the hiſtory of each reign.

In regard to theſe expeditions, all the nations of the world may reſt aſſured that they will never ceaſe as long as this neſt of pirates is ſuffered to exiſt. Such acts of violence are natural to them. "The Algerines," ſaid one of their deys with ſome humour, "are robbers; and I am their "captain-general." Thoſe, therefore, who navigate the neighbouring ſeas, muſt expect to be expoſed to their attacks. When reproached with this ſhameful piracy, they reply by the following proverb: "Thoſe who are afraid of the "ſparrows ought never to ſow." No nation in Europe has found means to humble them but the French, by the famous bombardment in 1682; on which occaſion the public buildings, and almoſt all the houſes, were converted into a heap of ruins. They begged for peace, and promiſed to reſpect the French flag and coaſts. They have almoſt kept their word; like a ſavage miſchievous animal, which having been once chaſtiſed, abſtains from doing hurt if looked at.

TUNIS.

Tunis reſembles Algiers, as it exhibits the ſame religion, the ſame government, the ſame manners, and the ſame events, which transferred it from the hands of the Arabs into thoſe of

Tunis, between Algiers, Tripoli, and the Mediterranean.

the Turks; weakened the authority of the latter, and at laſt brought it to ſuch a ſtate as to be able to name its own maſters, under the title of *beys*, but without entirely rejecting the influence of the Turks. Deys were appointed here by the grand-ſeignior till the commencement of the preſent century; but they were very different from thoſe of Algiers, being repreſentatives without power. The beys, by the aſſiſtance of a militia, compoſed of Moors, Arabs, and, above all, renegadoes, have made themſelves independent. The Porte has given over ſending deys to Algiers. The beys, like the deys, have a divan, which they manage as they pleaſe, and are no longer ſubject to the commands of the grand-ſeignior.

Though we have ſaid that the Tuniſians reſemble the Algerines, they exhibit ſome traits in their character which give them a ſuperiority to the latter. They are more civil to ſtrangers, more honeſt, and leſs haughty. They are addicted to piracy, but more to commerce. The people are fonder of being artiſans than ſoldiers. The militia at Tunis dare not carry their inſolence ſo far as at Algiers. They are leſs ſevere to the chriſtian ſlaves; yet they once beat with great cruelty a knight of Malta whom they had taken. The grand-maſter ſubjected to a like treatment the Tuniſians whom he had in his power; and by means of this reciprocal politeneſs, they at-

tained to a good underſtanding from which they ought never to have departed.

The kingdom or republic of Tunis is divided into two parts, called that of winter and that of ſummer, which the bey viſits every year, in order to collect the taxes. Were he ſenſible to the changes effected by the deſtructive hand of time, and that of barbarians, he would with pain behold the marks imprinted by them on the ſuperb monuments which once decorated the cities of this unfortunate country. The ſite of the celebrated Carthage can be diſtinguiſhed only by a ſmall part of a wall, and the ruins of an aqueduct. The remains of amphitheatres, triumphal arches, pavements of moſaic work, altars, and columns, with the limbs and mutilated trunks of ſtatues, occur in various places; and there are few cantons which do not atteſt that this part of Africa was formerly the ſeat of the arts, and that they are now entirely baniſhed from it. In regard to nature, being always invariable, ſhe precipitates the rivers from the ſummits of the ſame rocks, continues to make thermal waters boil up from the bowels of the earth, and ſhakes it as formerly beneath the feet of the frightened inhabitants. But, being equally conſtant in her favours, ſhe covers the fields with abundant crops, ſeparates the mountains to afford a paſſage to the cooling zephyrs, and covers the hills with verdure. In many parts the country is a

kind of terreſtrial paradiſe; but this is not the caſe in the neighbourhood of Tunis. The ſoil is ungrateful and ſandy; and nothing is produced but by means of water, which muſt be drawn from deep wells. It does not afford the gardener the pleaſure of quenching his thirſt, becauſe it is ſaline or brackiſh; but commerce ſupplies every neceſſary, and the people live in comfort.

Tunis, like Algiers, fell a prey to another Barbaroſſa, who introduced himſelf, in the like manner, by a perfidious ſtratagem. Haſſan, deſcended from the Arabian kings who reigned in that city, having put to death when he aſcended the throne ſeveral of his brothers, one of them, named Araſhid, made his eſcape, and formed a party. As his followers, however, were not ſufficiently powerful to enable him to overturn Haſſan, he ſolicited the aid of Barbaroſſa. The latter conducted him to Conſtantinople, under a pretence of procuring aſſiſtance for him from the Porte; but the traitor inſinuated to the divan, that if the troops deſtined for the prince, whom he affected to befriend, were put under his management, as ſoon as he ſhould make himſelf maſter of Tunis, he would render homage to the ſultan, and hold the reins of government there as his repreſentative. Theſe conditions being accepted, he departed with a ſtrong armament, giving out that Araſhid was

on board the fleet, though detained at Conſtantinople. The Tuniſians, diſpleaſed with Haſſan, were anxiouſly longing for a change; and believing that his brother was in the fleet, they opened their gates to Barbaroſſa. They were much ſurprized to ſee him alone; but the fault was committed, and they were obliged to ſubmit.

Their credulity was ſo much the more prejudicial to their intereſt, as the reſidence of Barbaroſſa in their city brought againſt them the forces of Charles V. who every-where purſued that pirate. Notwithſtanding the uſurper's efforts, the emperor took Tunis, and re-eſtabliſhed Haſſan. This prince, however, was no longer able to ſecure the affection of his ſubjects. They ſupported his ſon Hamida, who had revolted againſt him, a monſter of laſciviouſneſs and cruelty. Being maſter of Tunis, like another Abſalom, he publicly diſhonoured the moſt favourite wives of his father. When he got the latter into his poſſeſſion, he would not deign to ſee him, though the old man requeſted it; but ſent executioners to him, and deſired to know whether he would chooſe death or ſuffer to have his eyes put out. He preferred the latter, and was accordingly deprived of ſight, by thruſting into his eyes a red hot lancet.

To efface from the mind the melancholy impreſſion which this horrid act may occaſion, I

ſhall call its attention to the inſtructive leſſon given by a Mahomet bey of Tunis to an Ibrahim dey of Algiers. Mahomet was accounted exceedingly rich; he was celebrated alſo for his knowledge of chemiſtry, and for having diſcovered the philoſopher's ſtone. This pretended knowledge did not prevent him from being diſagreeable to his ſubjects, who dethroned him. On this occaſion he had recourſe to Ibrahim to reſtore him; and the latter agreed, on condition that he would communicate to him his ſecret. When the Tuniſian was re-inſtated in his kingdom, the Algerine called upon him to fulfil his engagement: Mahomet, in conſequence of his promiſe, ſent to him ſpades, hoes, and other implements of agriculture, the inſtruments of that real magic which produces ſolid riches, and converts every thing into gold.

TRIPOLI.

Tripoli, between Billdulguerid, Mount Atlas, Egypt, and the Mediterranean.

The kingdom of Tripoli, tributary to the grand-ſeignior, is divided into two parts, the maritime and the interior. The inhabitants of the one part have nothing with which they can reproach the other; for the former live by piracy, and the latter by robbery. They, however, carry on ſome trade, which is indeed of no great extent; but, with the aſſiſtance of hunting, it is ſufficient to ſupply proviſions to the city. The articles in which it is moſt deficient

are bread and water. The ſoil, which is exceedingly dry, produces nothing but date-trees; and the water of the wells is brackiſh. All the towns on the coaſt of Tripoli have become villages; thoſe cloſe to the ſea are inhabited by fiſhermen, and thoſe in the interior by poor gardeners or farmers, who are too ignorant to be proud of the ſuperb ruins by which they are ſtill ſurrounded. Very fortunately they believe, that if they touched them they would experience ſome great misfortune. This ſuperſtition has been the means of preſerving theſe beautiful ruins.

The Porte ſends to Tripoli a pacha, who has nothing to do but to amaſs riches. Provided the bey fills his purſe, and pays the tribute, the latter may do whatever he pleaſes. Theſe leeches ruin the country, which is now in a moſt deplorable condition. Tripoli, after the time of the Vandals, was ſubject to kings, natives of the country; but it afterwards fell into the hands of the Arabs, who came from Egypt, and who carried away a great number of ſlaves, both from the kingdom and the capital. The ſceptre was then aſſumed by pirates, or adventurers, from whom it was wreſted by the Spaniards; and the latter reſigned it to the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, when they had loſt Rhodes. Salha Rais, Sinan Daſſat, and Dragut, three famous corſairs, made themſelves maſters of it, with the

assistance of troops furnished to them by the grand-seignior. The last remained there as governor, and established the authority of the Turks; but their yoke became so burthensome that there were several revolts, which gave rise to the mixed government that still exists in appearance; for it is really absolute and despotic. The bey, chosen by the militia, seems to be the chief of a body of republicans; but he commands only slaves, and never has recourse to the divan except on difficult conjunctures.

Such was the case with Tripoli when the depredations committed by its pirates brought against it the arms of Louis XIV in 1685. On that occasion, a dreadful bombardment, conducted by the marshal d'Etrees, compelled the Tripolines to sue for peace, in the most submissive manner. The divan or senate of Tripoli offered the proposals, signed the treaty, and sent embassadors to France. As they came thither as suppliants they expected to experience some marks of displeasure, on the part of an incensed conqueror; but they were agreeably surprized by the polite reception which they every-where met with. Of the many things which excited their admiration, nothing struck them so much as the opera. The music, the actors and actresses, the decorations, machines, and dresses, appeared to them a series of enchantments—an assemblage of irresistible charms. The chief of the embassy,

an old corſair, was ſo much affected by the ſight that he exclaimed: "Whatever enemy might "attack us we ſhould be able to defend our- "ſelves, unleſs it were the opera, and in that "caſe we ſhould lay down our arms."

At the extremity of the coaſt lies the deſert of Barca. It conſiſts of looſe ſand, which being raiſed into clouds by the wind, often buries the traveller; while, at other times, the eyes are ſcorched by the reverberation of the ſun's rays. It has no water but of a bad quality, found in a few wells, which are exceedingly rare. Travellers who croſs it are obliged to conduct themſelves by means of a compaſs; and though there is ſomething awful in ſolitude it is moſt advantageous for them to ſee nobody, as the Arabs who frequent it are only banditti, the boldeſt and moſt ferocious in the world. They are meagre, miſerable figures, covered with the clothes they have plundered, and which they wear till they become rags on their bodies and rot. Theſe hordes are frightful by their aſpect; but they are much more ſo when we reflect that thoſe who fall into their hands are tormented, in order to diſcover whether they have not ſwallowed gold to conceal it; killed if they have not a ſufficiency of proviſions to nouriſh them; or carried away into eternal captivity, where ſlaves are ſuppoſed to be treaed witth favour

when they are ſuffered to participate in their famine, thirſt, and nakedneſs.

MALTA.

The iſland of Malta was inhabited formerly by the nymph Calypſo. Though nearer to Sicily, from which it is only fifteen leagues diſtant, it is aſſigned, without any juſt reaſon, to Africa, its diſtance from which is fifty. It is about twenty leagues in circumference. The ſoil is barren, being compoſed partly of ſand and partly of rock, covered with very little earth, full of ſtones, and unfit for the cultivation of any kind of grain. It produces figs, melons, oranges, and honey. To the north-weſt, ſeparated from it by a channel a league and a half in breadth, lies the iſland of Goza, which is about eight leagues in circumference; and in this channel are the ſmall iſles of Comin and Comino. The former is a league in circumference; the other is leſs. Lampedoſa, five or ſix leagues in circumference, lying at the diſtance of twenty-five or thirty leagues from Malta, is barren and uninhabited.

The ſouthern coaſt of Malta has neither road nor harbour. Some good harbours, however, are found to the eaſt; and there is an excellent port divided into two parts, commanded by fort St. Elmo. When it was taken poſſeſſion of by

the knights it contained only one city, with a few towns, and about twelve thouſand inhabitants. At preſent it has four cities incloſed by walls. The hamlets have become villages; and the villages large towns. The air is exceedingly ſalubrious, being always cooled by the ſea-breezes. There are no rivers in the iſland; but it has excellent ſprings: water is collected alſo in ciſterns. Every creek and corner where an enemy might enter is ſtrongly fortified and guarded. The cities, which are built with taſte and elegance, are well defended alſo. They contain beautiful churches, large and commodious hoſpitals, arſenals ſupplied with all kinds of ſtores; in a word, every thing neceſſary either in time of peace or of war.

The character given of the Malteſe ladies implies, to ſpeak in the ſofteſt terms, that they are fond of gallantry. I do not mean to ſay that they are amorous, but that they are tempting. Their huſbands are not much pleaſed with this conduct; which indeed is very little directed towards them. They are jealous: but before marriage they carry about their intended ſpouſes with confidence to the moſt public places, and affect to allow them a great deal of liberty. When married, however, they are narrowly watched, and thoſe who approach them, even if they are knights, have to dread the dagger or poniard. The Malteſe are robuſt, healthful, lively, brave, and warlike. A ſignal given by

firing three cannons is ſufficient to call forth twenty-five thouſand men, all well armed, and to place each at his poſt, with which they are thoroughly acquainted. They are ſaid to be of Arabic extraction, and they ſpeak that language; but in the towns the moſt common dialect is the Italian. The Malteſe ſubſiſt by the culture of a few productions, and by commerce; but what contributes moſt to the flouriſhing ſtate of their iſland is the reſidence of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, called commonly the knights of Malta.

Were a mahometan to write the hiſtory of the order of Malta, he would ſay, that in an iſland of the Mediterranean there is an aſſociation of men ſworn enemies of the muſſulman religion, who wage eternal war with thoſe who profeſs it, attack their ſhips, ravage their coaſts, carry them away as ſlaves; and, through zeal for chriſtianity, engage to make no peace, nor enter into any truce with them. After ſuch a picture, people might be induced to blame this ardent zeal, and to taſk it with the name of overſtrained enthuſiaſm: but they will be cautious in condemning this inſtitution when they know how it is formed; what is the end propoſed by it; and how it has been led by circumſtances to ſupport itſelf in a ſtate of war, which is its eſſential occupation. To defend itſelf it is ſometimes obliged

The chriſtians, full of reſpect for the places where the myſteries of their religion were firſt operated, have at all times conſidered it as a pious duty to viſit them. Theſe places, which they call holy, and Jeruſalem the capital, having fallen into the hands of the Saracens, the pilgrims of Europe were expoſed by them to various acts of oppreſſion, which rendered the journey dangerous and laborious. Some Italian merchants, ſaid to be gentlemen of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples, taking advantage, about the year 1048, of the acceſs given them by commerce to the court of the ſultan of Egypt, obtained permiſſion to build, near the holy ſepulchre at Jeruſalem, an hoſpital where pilgrims might be received and refreſh themſelves after their fatigue. They conſtructed there alſo a chapel, under the name of St. John the almoner. This eſtabliſhment was ſupported by the alms which they collected in Italy and in other countries; and they ſoon found themſelves in a condition to build a ſecond hoſpital for women: from this ſmall beginning aroſe the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, which ſince that time has been the bulwark of chriſtianity.

The Latin chriſtians were received in this hoſpital without diſtinction of rank or nation. A certain place in it was aſſigned for the pilgrims, and clothing was provided for thoſe who

had been ſtripped by the banditti. Great care was taken of the ſick, and every ſort of miſery found in the charity of thoſe who preſided over the hoſpital a new kind of pity. The men were governed by a French Provincial named Gerard, and the women by a Roman lady named Agnes, who had the conſolation of ſeeing their charity rewarded by liberal donations, and revenues which ſupplied them with the means of increaſing and extending their benefactions. The number of the hoſpitalers, both male and female, having conſiderably increaſed, Gerard and Agnes propoſed to the brothers and ſiſters to renounce the world, and aſſume the religious habit. Simple regulations, all tending to the benefit of the poor and the pilgrims received in the hoſpital, were drawn up for them, and confirmed by the pope.

1113. Gerard was ſucceeded by Raymond, of an illuſtrious houſe in Dauphiny, whoſe zeal did not confine itſelf to the cares which had occupied his predeceſſor: he beheld with grief the diſmal ſtate of the chriſtians of Paleſtine, and the dangers and miſery to which they were expoſed. The pilgrims ran the greateſt riſk from the banditti who infeſted the highways, and it too often happened that they arrived at the hoſpital after being robbed and ill-treated. Raymond, finding himſelf at the head of a great number of hoſpitalers, reſolved to render them

uſeful to religion, not only by the duties of hoſpitality, but by taking up arms to clear the highways of robbers, and marching againſt the infidels whenever called upon for that purpoſe by their ſuperiors, without, however, ſuffering them, on account of theſe new functions, to diſpenſe with their religious vows and other duties.

This project was adopted with the more zeal, as there were among theſe hoſpitalers a great many warriors who had ſerved in the firſt cruſade. After the war, having been reduced by their devotion to a ſedentary life, they more readily quitted it when they ſaw that they might make the tumult of their ancient occupations accord with their pacific duties. They reſumed, therefore, their arms, but they agreed to employ them only againſt the infidels. Raymond divided them into three claſſes: in the firſt he placed thoſe who by their birth and the rank which they had formerly held in the armies, were more proper than the reſt for warlike operations. He formed a ſecond claſs of the prieſts and chaplains, who, beſides their uſual functions in church and attending the ſick, were obliged, each in his turn, to ſerve as chaplains in the time of war. The third claſs was compoſed of thoſe who were neither eccleſiaſtics nor of noble families; they were called *ſerving brothers*. They were to be employed in

ſuch occupations as the knights ſhould think proper to aſſign to them, either with the ſick or the armies.

Raymond ſettled the dreſs and the badges by which the different claſſes were to be diſtinguiſhed. He regulated alſo the order and diſcipline in regard to elections, admiſſion to the noviciate, reception, profeſſion, and taking the vows; the form of which was as follows: "I "vow and promiſe to the almighty God, the "moſt bleſſed virgin Mary, and St. John the "Baptiſt, to pay true and ſincere obedience to "the ſuperior who ſhall be eſtabliſhed over me, "and who ſhall be legally elected by our reli-"gion; to renounce all property, and to obſerve "perpetual chaſtity." The perſon who officiated then ſaid: "We receive you and ac-"knowledge you as a ſervant of the poor and "the ſick, and as conſecrated for the defenſe "of the catholic religion." The new knight replied: "I acknowledge myſelf as ſuch." In this ceremony the frock was joined to the ſword.

The order, under Raymond, was already ſufficiently numerous to be divided into eight nations, called tongues, in which little variation has been made ſince the firſt diſtribution. One of the grand offices of the order was annexed to each tongue, and Raymond was the firſt grand-maſter. The uſe which theſe religious warriors made of their riches excited the liberality

of ſovereigns, who gave them funds in their kingdoms; and of great lords and pious perſons, who bequeathed legacies to them in every part of Europe. All the revenues were to be conveyed to the hoſpital of St. John. The uſe of them, as at firſt regulated by the grand-maſter and the chapter, was to ſupport the hoſpitals, the knights, chaplains, ſerving brothers, the pilgrims who came to viſit the holy places, the ſick, the wounded, and the lame; in a word, all the expenſes of the hoſpital, the brothers, and the church. In the next place, to procure arms, to pay the troops whom they engaged in their ſervice, and to purchaſe ammunition and every thing neceſſary for the war, for guarding the highways, eſcorting pilgrims, and performing all the other ſervices of religion.

To manage their property, it was neceſſary to diſpatch to different countries officers choſen from the body. The knights to whom this care was conſigned were called commanders, from the title of their commiſſion *commendamus*—we recommend to you. This title was not for life, but during the pleaſure of the chapter, or as long as they behaved properly. The commanders were under the inſpection of the priors, who viſited the commanderies, and were reſponſible for the application of the money received, on which account the contributions ſent to the chief place were called *reſponſions*. The

baillis were ſubaltern commanders, as the managers of the commanders, to whom the commanderies were let for a certain annual ſum: ſometimes they became farmers of the revenues. The grand-baillis are not comprehended in this claſs; theſe were ſuperior to the commanders themſelves. Time has brought about many changes in theſe fiſcal dignities, which have become exceedingly lucrative.

The hiſtory of Malta is replete with heroic feats, performed by individuals as well as by generals. They ought to be read by young people, that bravery which has become too methodical may no longer be confined to common rules. In regard to internal affairs, rivalſhips, jealouſy reſpecting the government, ſtratagems to ſupplant each other, notwithſtanding the military candour on which the knights pique themſelves, they are merely monachal intrigues unworthy of notice, except ſo far as they have produced ſome remarkable event, or had an influence on the conſtitution of the order.

Gilbert Aſſalis, an Engliſhman, the fourth grand-maſter, employed the arms of the order in favour of the king of England in a war which was not a holy war, and was obliged to reſign his office. The firſt poſſeſſion of the order was the caſtle of Margat, on the confines of Paleſtine, to which they retired after the taking of Jeruſalem by Saladin, and which they made

the principal place of their reſidence till the year 1192. They acquired one more ſecure in the town of Acre, the capture of which, in a great meaſure, was owing to them. It thus got the name of the knights, and was called St. John of Acre. Alphonſo of Portugal, the eleventh grand-maſter, was deſirous of repreſſing the luxury, and reforming the irregularities, introduced into the order, but did not ſucceed. He abdicated in 1207, and was nevertheleſs poiſoned. The order then became a prey to anarchy and confuſion: the hoſpitalers and templars, another military order, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, quarrelled and fought; but the neceſſity of oppoſing the Saracens obliged them to unite, and reſtored proper diſcipline among the former. Wealth then flowed in to the order from different princes who were pleaſed with their ſervices in Paleſtine, and honourable privileges from the popes. The ſixteenth grand-maſter extended its domains in Paleſtine, and fortified ſeveral caſtles, which became places of ſupport and protection to the chriſtians in that country. The Saracens never took any of them but by paſſing over the bleeding bodies of the knights, who preferred death to capitulation.

After the taking of Acre by the infidels at the end of the twelfth century, John de Villiers, a native of France, the twenty-firſt grand-

maſter, ſought ſhelter with his order in the iſland of Cyprus. The knights were offered an aſylum in Italy, and in other countries, but they would not abandon the Holy Land, which they always hoped they ſhould be able to recover. In expectation of this event, they built ſhips to convey thoſe who went to viſit the holy places, and they returned with conſiderable prizes taken from the infidel corſairs, which were cruiſing to carry off the pilgrims. This was the commencement of their naval enterprizes, which at that time were the principal reſource of the knights; becauſe ſeveral princes, conſidering them as of no uſe, after they had loſt the Holy Land, ſtopped the revenues which they had received from their kingdoms. The knights, therefore, murmured when their grand-maſters did not ſhew ſufficient ardour for this kind of war, which was extremely lucrative.

In 1308, Foulquier de Villaret, a Frenchman, the twenty-fourth grand-maſter, on account of the general eſteem in which he was held, obtained great aſſiſtance from the chriſtian princes; carried his order from the iſland of Cyprus, the king of which kept it in ſubjection; and eſtabliſhed it in the iſland of Rhodes, which he conquered. The knights then aſſumed the title of the knights of Rhodes; and the petty iſles around it formed, as it were, a kingdom, rendered more powerful by the remains of the riches of the

templars, a part of which Villaret had the addreſs to appropriate to the order. He lived, however, too much like a ſovereign; and as he gave himſelf airs of abſolute authority, the order depoſed him. He was reſtored by the pope: but after having enjoyed the honour of recovering his former dignity, he voluntarily reſigned, and died in the boſom of peace in his own country. Under his ſucceſſor Villeneuve a regulation was made, by which it was declared that thoſe ſhould be incapable of every dignity who had not reſided a certain number of years in Rhodes, and who during that reſidence had not ſerved in war or on board the ſhips of the order.

The adventure of the chevalier Gozon, who killed a frightful ſerpent, which occaſioned horrid ravages in the iſland, took place under the maſterſhip of Villeneuve. Several knights had loſt their lives in attacking this monſter; and on that account a prohibition was iſſued that no more ſhould expoſe themſelves to its fury. Gozon, a Provincial knight, reſolved however to attempt its deſtruction. After examining the dragon at a diſtance, he cauſed a figure having a perfect reſemblance to it to be made; accuſtomed two young dogs to throw themſelves on the fictitious monſter, without being frightened, and to ſeize it under the belly where it had no ſcales, while, in complete armour, he attacked it himſelf. Gozon overcame the ſer-

pent, but not without great danger, notwithſtanding all his precautions, and at laſt killed it. The grand-maſter, a faithful obſerver of diſcipline, deprived him of the habit of the order for his diſobedience; but he again reſtored it to him with honour, and made him his lieutenant-general. Gozon even got himſelf elected grand-maſter by a piece of boldneſs which, perhaps, never ſucceeded with any other perſon.

The chapter were much embarraſſed in regard to the election, as the old members wiſhed for a grave religious man, and the young ones a warrior who might lead them to gain and to glory. When it came to Gozon's turn to give his vote, he addreſſed the chapter as follows: "On entering this aſſembly I ſolemnly ſwore "that I would propoſe none of the knights "but ſuch as I thought moſt worthy of this "important office. After having conſidered "the preſent ſtate of chriſtianity, the wars "which we are continually obliged to maintain "againſt the infidels, and the firmneſs and vigour "neceſſary to prevent a relaxation of diſcipline, "I declare that I can find no perſon more "capable than myſelf to manage properly the "affairs of our religion. Yes," reſumed he, on finding that they all obſerved ſilence, "and "you have already had a trial of my government. "You know what you may expect; and in my "opinion you cannot without injuſtice refuſe

" me your votes." It would be neceſſary to have a very pure conſcience to hazard ſuch a propoſal in an aſſembly of rivals. Gozon was unanimouſly elected; and fulfilled the hopes which he had ventured to excite.

Heredia, the thirty-firſt grand-maſter, elected in 1375, gave to the knights a noble leſſon of magnanimity. Having been taken priſoner by the Turks, the order offered, by way of ranſom, to reſtore the caſtle of Patras in the Morea, beſides a large ſum of money, and the three principal dignitaries of the order as hoſtages till it ſhould be paid. When the hoſtages arrived with ſeveral knights to ſet him at liberty, he ſaid, " My dear brothers, ſuffer an old man, " whoſe life, by the courſe of nature, can be of " no long duration, to die in his chains; and do " you, who are young, ſave yourſelves for the " ſervice of religion." He forbade his ranſom to be taken from the treaſury of the order, and added: " If it muſt be paid, my family have re- " ceived from me ſufficiemt property to ſhew " towards me this mark of gratitude." He remained three years in a ſtate of ſevere captivity; and was at laſt ranſomed by his family.

The grand-maſters, at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, were often obliged to quit Rhodes, and to appear at the court of the popes, who interfered with the affairs of the order. Their frequent ab-

ſence cauſed a great relaxation of diſcipline in the iſland. Beſides, the knights were fond of theſe journeys; during which they could exempt themſelves, without ſcandal, from the ſeverity of their rules, as they were well received by the chriſtian princes; and, on account of their great experience, often employed as arbiters in important affairs. They negociated alſo for themſelves. Under Philibert de Naillac, the thirty-ſecond grand-maſter, the order purchaſed the Morea; but the inhabitants refuſed to ſubmit to their government. This grand-maſter and his ſucceſſors maintained an active warfare on all theſe coaſts, and on that of Egypt. The Saracens and the Turks always found themſelves oppoſed by the knights, in all the expeditions which they undertook. The obſtinacy of their attacks and reſiſtance made the muſſulmen reſolve, about the year 1428, to take Rhodes, and to drive from their ſeas theſe troubleſome enemies. Their firſt attempts for this purpoſe were made in 1480, under Peter d'Aubuſſon, the thirty-eighth grand-maſter.

The grand-vizier Palealogue, a Greek renegado of the imperial houſe, was entruſted with the management of the ſiege by Mahomet, the conqueror of Conſtantinople. He landed with a large army, and every aſſiſtance neceſſary for ſo important an operation. The renegado ſpared neither the blood of his ſoldiers nor his trea-

ſures. He employed treachery alſo, and attempted to cauſe the grand-maſter to be poiſoned or aſſaſſinated, in which he had nearly ſucceeded. He endeavoured to gain over the inhabitants by promiſes, and to intimidate them by threats. The aſſaults were made in rapid ſucceſſion, but without effect, on account of the unſhaken valour of the knights, and the bravery of the ſoldiers, whom they had carried thither with them from all parts of Europe, and who under ſuch chiefs were invincible. He tried to induce the grand-maſter to capitulate, by repreſenting to him the wretched ſtate of the place, the walls being razed, the towers battered down, and the ditches filled up. "The city," replied the intrepid d'Aubuſſon, "is ſtrong "enough while defended by the knights. We "have all one heart and one mind, directed to-"wards one ſingle object—the defenſe of the "faith, and the honour and glory of our order. "Men who do not fear death are ſtronger than "walls or baſtions."

Some of the knights, however, moved by the picture drawn by Paleologué's envoy of the horrors committed in a town taken by aſſault, pillage, maſſacre, and the inſults offered to wives and daughters, were inclined to negotiate. D'Aubuſſon being informed of this diſpoſition ſent for them, and as if they had no longer been his brethren ſaid: "Gentlemen, if any of you

" do not think yourſelves ſafe in the place, the " gates are not ſo cloſely blockaded as to prevent " me from finding means to convey you from " it." After a ſhort pauſe, he added with an air of authority and indignation: " But if you " wiſh to remain ſpeak no more of capitulat- " ing, elſe I will put you all to death." Theſe menacing words overwhelmed the knights with ſhame and confuſion; they threw themſelves at his feet, and promiſed to expiate by their blood this emotion of weakneſs. D'Aubuſſon ſet them an example, as he always appeared at the moſt dangerous poſt. The vizier engaged twelve of his braveſt warriors to force their way to the grand-maſter during an aſſault, and to free him from this formidable adverſary: they gave him five wounds, but they did not prove mortal. The knights, ſeeing the blood of their chief ſhed, were animated with more courage, and throwing themſelves among the Turks on the ramparts, purſued them to their camp, from which they retired to their ſhips in confuſion and completely routed.

D'Aubuſſon's reputation has been ſullied by the conduct which he obſerved towards Zizim. This prince having ſought an aſylum at Rhodes, againſt the malevolence of the emperor Bajazet, his brother, met with a favourable reception. The grand-maſter took every precaution to protect him from the poniard, from poiſon, and the

other ſnares which his brother laid for him; but he liſtened to the inſidious offers of the Ottoman monarch, and on receiving the promiſe of a conſiderable ſum and other advantages for the order, he conſented to become jailor to the prince, whom he might have employed to kindle up a civil war among the Turks. Zizim complained loudly of this baſe contract, but he had not yet attained to the end of his ſufferings. The pope demanded alſo to have him in his power, for the good of chriſtianity, as he pretended, and in order to make the Turks behave with reſpect. Contrary to the promiſe given to Bajazet that he would always keep in his own hands the unfortunate prince, for whoſe maintenance he paid a large ſum, d'Aubuſſon gave him up, and, as is ſaid, without any view of intereſt; but why was he appointed cardinal, a dignity ſo little ſuited to a warrior like him? On what account did he obtain ſo many favours for his order, and beſides others the union of thoſe of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus to that of St. John? He was originally the author of the death of the muſſulman prince, whom Alexander VI. it is ſaid, cauſed to be poiſoned for the ſum of three hundred thouſand ducats.

The brave defenſe of d'Aubuſſon did not abate the deſire which the Turks had to get poſſeſſion of Rhodes. Soliman, their emperor, publicly declared that he was reſolved to make

a conqueſt of the iſland. The order oppoſed to him Villiers de l'Iſle Adam, the forty-ſecond grand maſter, elected in 1521, who employed himſelf without remiſſion in making the neceſſary preparations to repel the threatened invaſion. After ſome friendly invitations, Soliman ſent a ſummons to the grand-maſter to give up the iſland. In caſe of compliance he promiſed him every kind of good treatment and favour; "but if you do not ſpeedily ſhew," ſaid he, "due deference to our orders, you ſhall all feel "the vengeance of our formidable ſword; and "the towers and baſtions of the walls of "Rhodes ſhall be reduced to the height of the "graſs which grows at the bottom of theſe for-"tifications." This threat was ſupported by a ſtrong army. As ſoon as diſembarked it commenced its operations againſt the place, but the ſoldiers being vigorouſly repulſed in ſeveral aſſaults began to loſe courage.

Soliman, informed of their murmurs, haſtened thither himſelf, and landing at the head of fifteen thouſand picked men, ordered all the troops to appear before him without arms. He then cauſed his eſcort to ſurround them, and having reproached them ſeverely with a terrible look and menacing voice, on a preconcerted ſignal the fifteen thouſand men drew their ſabres, and held them ſuſpended over the heads of the culprits. The generals threw themſelves

at his feet, and begged he would pardon them, while they all, with loud cries, implored for mercy. The ſultan ſuffered himſelf to be appeaſed. "In compliance with your intreaties," ſaid he, "I ſhall ſuſpend puniſhing the guilty, "but let them ſeek pardon on the baſtions and "bulwarks of the enemy." The aſſault which took place after this ſcene was terrible, and was followed by others no leſs murderous. Soliman, however, might not have been more ſucceſsful in his enterprize than Mahomet, had he not found a traitor in the town, and even in the council, the chancellor of the order, who gave him information of every thing that paſſed, and made him acquainted with the meaſures he ought to purſue. Jealouſy alone, and revenge for not having been elected grand-maſter, induced this member of the order to be guilty of ſuch an act of perfidy. He was indeed detected and puniſhed; but having been entruſted with the care of procuring proviſions and ammunition, the town, by his malicious treachery, was found to be deſtitute of theſe neceſſaries, which haſtened its ſurrender.

The terms of the capitulation, which was as favourable as could be expected by a city reduced to the laſt extremity, were faithfully obſerved. Soliman treated the grand-maſter with every mark of reſpect and diſtinction. Villiers, though oppreſſed with grief, did not fail to provide for

the ſafety of thoſe who quitted the iſland. Beſides the knights, more than four thouſand of the inhabitants followed the fortune of the order. The grand-maſter embarked the laſt, after having ſent notice to thoſe who were diſperſed to join him at Candia. When they were all nearly aſſembled he ſet out for Italy, and ſtopped by the way at Meſſina. When their arrival was announced, the whole city went out to meet them. Inſtead of the uſual religious-flag they had hoiſted a banner, on which was repreſented the bleſſed Virgin holding her ſon dead in her arms, with this legend: *Afflictis ſpes ultima rebus*—My laſt reſource in affliction. Vows were offered up by all the ſpectators for their venerable leader. The viceroy offered him, in the name of Charles V. the town and harbour of Meſſina as a place of ſhelter for his fleet. The biſhop, the grandees, the nobility, and the people, with melancholy and ſilent admiration, teſtified how much they were intereſted in his fate.

He was conducted to the palace amidſt gloomy ſilence, while regret, for having been obliged to deliver into the hands of the infidels an iſland where his predeceſſors had reigned with ſo much glory, was manifeſted by his actions, words, and even looks; but his grief did not, in the leaſt, abate his vigilance. He beſtowed the utmoſt care on the ſick and the wounded; and procured them every aſſiſtance in

his power. When his followers were a little recovered he again ſet ſail; diſembarked in the gulph of Baiæ, and went to ſee what hopes would be afforded him by the pope. He could get nothing from Adrian VI. but promiſes, and would have remained in a ſtate of the utmoſt embarraſſment had not death carried off this pope, who ſeemed to be little affected by his own misfortunes or thoſe of his followers. He was ſucceeded by Julius of Medici, who had himſelf been of the religious order of Malta. The firſt ſervice he rendered to it was by a bull which forbade the members to ſeparate, and by theſe means he prevented its diſſolution, which appeared to be unavoidable.

He aſſigned to them for their abode Viterbo, a place in the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, until they could find one more convenient. After many negotiations, in which the diſintereſtedneſs of Charles V. does not appear to much advantage, he ceded to them the iſland of Malta, under the burthenſome condition of their undertaking the defenſe of the city of Tripoli, which required a ſtrong garriſon and great expenſe. The grand-maſter, not being able to do any thing better, accepted the propoſed terms. The order took poſſeſſion of the iſland in 1530; and acquired from it the name of the knights of Malta, which they ſtill retain. Villiers de l'Iſle Adam employed himſelf in fortifying the iſland, which he found in a

defenceleſs ſtate, and died at a very advanced age. The following epitaph was inſcribed on his tomb: "Here lies virtue, victorious over "fortune."

The precautions taken by l'Iſle Adam to fortify the new reſidence of the order, ſerved to defeat a ſecond enterprize of Soliman. Being incenſed to find that theſe pretended pirates, of whom he wiſhed to clear the neighbouring ſeas by taking Rhodes, continued to infeſt them, he gave orders to Sinan Baſſa, whom he had ſent to beſiege Tripoli, to deſtroy in his paſſage that neſt of robbers; but when Sinan had landed and conſidered attentively the caſtle of St. Angelo, and the bulwarks, he ſaid to the corſair Dragut, who preſſed him to begin an attack: "Doſt "thou ſee that caſtle? The eagle certainly "could not place its neſt on the ſummit of a "ſteeper rock; to reach it we ought to have "wings like the eagle, for all the troops in the "world would never be able to force it." That he might not, however, entirely diſoblige Dragut, Sinan ravaged the iſland and laid ſiege to the capital; but the gallant reſiſtance of the inhabitants obliged him to retire.

Soliman ſtill made againſt the order in 1565, under John de la Valette, the forty-ſeventh grand-maſter, the laſt important attack which it experienced. A man who ſhould ſit down in his cloſet, to imagine the moſt unexpected and

ſingular events that could take place, in the courſe of a ſiege, would not be able to invent any more extraordinary than thoſe which have been traced out by the hiſtorian of Malta. He did not reſolve to write this kind of romance till after waiting a long time in vain for the real memoirs which had been promiſed him; and he ſaid when they arrived: "They are too late; I "am ſorry for it; my ſiege is completed." This anecdote, if true, may ſerve to keep us on our guard againſt thoſe hiſtorians who are too fond of panegyric; but though the details may be heightened, it is certain that greater firmneſs, bravery, and activity could not be diſplayed, than were exhibited by the grand-maſter and his knights. Lavalette was wounded in the breach, and when ſome of his friends wiſhed him to retire, he replied: "At the age of "ſeventy-one, can I finiſh my life more gloriouſly "than by dying with my brethren?" The Turks being repulſed with the utmoſt bravery, withdrew never again to appear on that land, which had been drenched with their blood; and Lavalette on the principal emplacement, the theatre of his glory, built a town, which, after his own name, he called Lavalette. The convent and habitation of the knights were removed thither. In order that the work might not be interrupted, when money failed, they paid in copper, which was afterwards called in and the

full value given for it. The inſcription on it was, *Non æs, ſed fides:* It is not the metal, but confidence.

In 1724 a truce was concluded with the Turks for twenty-one years, ſubject to renewal if the parties ſhould think proper. While it continued, the Malteſe were to enjoy, in the ſtates of the grand-ſeignior, the ſame privileges as the French. They ſtipulated alſo for the exchange and ranſoming of ſlaves. The ſultan agreed not to give any aſſiſtance to the Barbary ſtates; and the treaty was to be void when any of the chriſtian princes were at war with the Porte. Malta this year ſurrendered to the French, and in all probability the order will be deſtroyed for ever.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

T. Daviſon, Printer,
Lombard-ſtreet, Fleet-ſtreet.